

# RUSSIA

A Concise History — from the  
Foundation of the State to  
Hitler's Invasion

BY

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With Calendar of Events  
covering over 1,000 years

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## FOREWORD.



East of the Baltic Sea stretches up to the shores of the Pacific the vast land of the Soviet Union, linking the West to the East across two Continents. This huge territory, extending nearly half-way around the globe, and inhabited by approximately two hundred million people, has had a notable history too little of which is known outside the country itself. In the course of centuries of growth and expansion, Russia had incorporated more than one hundred and seventy different nationalities whose political, economic and cultural development has become closely linked with that of Russia's. The larger of these national units are at present members of the Soviet Federation on terms of equality with the Russians, who number about one hundred and forty millions. But even the smallest of the minor nationalities is enjoying under the Soviet system a wide measure of autonomy in all cultural matters. In the following pages an attempt is made to sketch the growth of the country and to indicate the underlying forces which have helped to shape the course of Russian History from the earliest times till the present day. The work was undertaken in the hope that a more intimate knowledge of Russia's past may help to a better understanding of the dominant influences in the Soviet Union and lead to closer friendship and collaboration between the English-speaking nations and the U.S.S.R.

*February, 1944.*

I.S.



# *RUSSIA*

## THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

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THE great country formerly known as the Russian Empire and now called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics occupies the largest continuous territory of any State in the world. Its area is nearly eight and a half million square miles, or about one-sixth of the earth's surface. The territory of the Soviet Union includes more than half of Europe, while the remainder is situated in Northern and Central Asia.

Everything in the country is on a vast scale. Mighty rivers, vast steppes followed by endless forests, which in their turn are succeeded by limitless stretches of tundra. The land line extends from the Baltic Sea in the west to the Pacific Ocean in the east, across a whole continent. In the north the land is bordered by the Arctic Ocean, and it stretches southward to the frontiers of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, India, China and Mongolia.

Russia is essentially a flat country. Her mountain ranges are confined to the Asiatic parts of the country. The Caucasian range with the Elbrus, the Ural range, the Crimean chain and the North-Eastern boundary hem in the European part of the country.

There is a great diversity of climatic zones, which run from Polar to subtropical. The country is well provided with rivers and lakes, which facilitate greatly transport and communications. The Volga, Dnieper, Dniester, Don, Northern Dvina and Desna are the best known rivers in European Russia, and the Ob, Yenissey and Lena in the Asiatic part of the country.

The density of the population is extremely varied in the different parts of the country. The most densely populated areas were, up to Hitler's invasion of June,

1941, the Central, Western and South-Western sections of the European portion of the country. The war has, of course, brought about vast changes of a temporary nature in the distribution of the population. Large numbers have had to be evacuated to the Volga area, the Urals, to Western Siberia, and to other parts removed from the battle front.

The population of the country is about two hundred millions, consisting of approximately two hundred different nationalities. About one hundred and fifty of the nationalities count less than twenty thousand persons each.

Slavs form the majority of the population. Of these the Great Russians number more than one hundred millions, the Ukrainians (Little Russians) some twenty-nine millions, and Belorussians (White Russians) about five millions.

Very little is known of the races which inhabited Russia's huge plains in earlier times. Men have been known to exist there from time immemorial. The northern part of the country was then still covered with glaciers. The climate of the Ukraine was at that period similar to that of Archangel today. Herds of mammoth roamed about the tundras and the early dwellers in those parts hunted the monsters, which supplied them with their simple requirements. The meat of the mammoth provided them with food, his skin with clothing, and his bones with their primitive tools and weapons. In addition to these arms they also had axes made of stone, and cudgels.

Climatic changes resulted in a shrinkage of the area covered by glaciers. The mammoths moved farther north, and they were followed by the hunters. The occasional discovery of a frozen mammoth, with its skin and flesh intact, in Siberia, reveals the last place of habitation of the prehistoric animals.

The dwellers of the Russian plains must have changed many times during the thousands of years that have elapsed since those early days. After the primitive savages of the Stone Age we find the remains of men of the Copper and Bronze Ages, and at a later stage still, those of the Iron Age people. But these were not yet the ancestors of the present Slav population. According to the evidence of Greek historians, Scythians were living in Southern Ukraine some 2,500 years ago. This was a nomadic people engaged in cattle breeding. Their descendants, the Ossetians, are still living in the Caucasian mountains.

### THE FIRST SLAVS.

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THE first reference to Slavs is found only in the sixth century of our era, and the record has been kept up since that time. The fact that the majority of the people living on the Russian plains speak languages which are of common origin does not prove them to be of common descent. Names of rivers like the Moskva, the Oka and the Klyasma are Finnish, and they suggest that Finnish tribes must have lived in these localities before the Slavs. Even the word Rus itself is of Finnish origin, and used to be applied by Finns to the Swedish traders who came to their country through the Baltic Sea.

When conquered by the Slavs these Finns adopted the language, customs and religion of their conquerors. Other Finnish tribes (the Chuvashy, Cheremissy, Mary, and others) living further east, and conquered at a later date, preserved their respective languages and racial characteristics.

The Russian people was formed from the amalgamation of many tribes and races that were living on the

Russian plains. The Slavs, being the strongest and most cultured of these, imposed their language and nationality upon the others.

The Russian State has now been in existence for more than a thousand years. At the beginning the people of Russia were called Slavs, and their settlement and occupation of the land was a slow process lasting over many centuries.

The Slavs settled by preference near rivers, lakes and forests. The Dnieper and its tributaries, the right bank of the Pripet, the left bank of the Desna, the western Dvina, and the northern lakes were the places where they established their first settlements.

In south Russia, now called the Ukraine, various nomadic peoples, akin to the Tartars, roamed from place to place with their flocks. These Tartar invaders advanced into the Slav land from the steppes of Asia, harassing the local population, plundering them and carrying them off as slaves.

While the Slavs of the south were harried by the Tartars from the steppes, those of the north were the object of repeated attacks and raids by the Varyags (Vikings), who sailed up the rivers that fell into the Baltic Sea. Being daring pirates and skilled seamen, and possessing better equipment and better boats than the Russians, they succeeded in reducing the Slavs of Novgorod to subjection and forcing them to pay tribute.

There is a popular misconception prevailing that the people of Novgorod sent to the Vikings across the sea messengers with the request to provide them with princes, rulers and judges. It is extremely doubtful whether the Vikings, who lived by plunder and slave trade, waited for such an invitation. The Venerable Nestor, a learned monk of the Kiev monastery, who

recorded this alleged event in his *Annals*, was born nearly two hundred years after this invasion. Moreover, his *Annals* were definitely compiled by several writers. This may have happened or it may not, but certainly in 862, Prince Rurik sailed from the present Sweden with his brothers and his whole tribe and they settled in Novgorod.

As a result of this occupation the conquerors formed the military and merchant caste, which was free of taxation, while a tax was imposed on the indigenous population. This system prevailed in Russia practically throughout its whole history.

The first Russian princes were enterprising and successful slave traders. This trade absorbed most of their time and energies. They indulged in frequent wars and raids upon their neighbours for capturing slaves. They were little concerned with the administration of the country. Law was not administered by the princes even in the tenth century. Only in the eleventh century they began to pay some heed to the question of the maintenance of law and order in the towns, where the slave traders congregated.

Agriculture was obviously the main occupation of the early Slavs. Cattle breeding came at a later period. The population of the cities was not entirely Slav. Considerable numbers of foreign traders, mostly from Sweden, came to settle in Russia and formed a large part of the town population.

The names of the first princes and their courtiers are all Swedish. But the majority of the town population was Slav, and they gradually absorbed the invaders. A similar process of absorption of the Norman invaders took place in England more than a century later.

This absorption must have proceeded at a fast rate in Russia, for we find that by the end of the tenth

century the princes bear already Russian names like Svyatoslav, Vladimir, Yaroslav, and they speak the Russian language and not Swedish.

The Slavs lived in families. All blood relations lived, worked, ploughed the land and hunted together. They supported each other and obeyed one tribesman, the patriarch. The families of each tribe helped one another and acted together against enemy invaders. Each tribe had one or more fortified place called "gorod" (town), in which the members of the tribe could seek safety in times of invasion. These towns also became the trading centres of the different tribes because of the protection they offered to the traders and their goods. The Slavs of the north had their "Novgorod" (New City) on the lake Ilmen, while the Slavs of the south had their Kiev on the Dnieper. Both these cities became important trading centres owing to their favourable geographical position.

### **RELIGION OF THE SLAVS.**

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THE religion of the Slavs was Nature worship. They regarded the elements as so many divinities. Chief among their gods was appropriately Perun, god of War, thunder, lightning, and fire. In addition to the principal divinities, there were also minor spirits—the sun, the sky, the earth, the wind, forests, rivers, lakes, mountains, trees, stones all had their good or bad spirits. The Slavs also believed in a future life, and that the spirits of their departed ancestors roamed about protecting them. They accordingly offered sacrifices to them. They erected idols in honour of their gods, and sacrificed to them animals, or even human beings. Prince Vladimir, the son of Svyatoslav, set up an idol with a silver head and a golden beard, in honour of Perun.

The Grand Principality of Kiev had a close neighbour which was one of the most civilised countries of the time—that country was Greece. The dominions of the Greek State surrounded the Black Sea, which at that period was called the Russian Sea because of the numerous Russian boats that sailed on it. The capital of the Greek or Byzantine Empire was Constantinople, which the Russians called Tsargrad (City of the Tsars). The Russians were greatly impressed by the beauty and wealth of Constantinople. Its fine palaces and temples, its rich houses and bazaars were the envy, and evoked the admiration, of the Russians.

The Russians traded with the Greeks, supplying them with slaves, furs, honey and wax, and receiving in exchange silk, fabrics, wine, ornaments and other articles of luxury. The relations with the Greeks were not confined to trade alone, however. At times they undertook military operations against the Greeks which were sometimes successful—as those of Oleg, and sometimes a failure, such as the campaign conducted by Prince Igor.

The close contact with the Greeks had also familiarised the Russians with the Christian religion, and some of the people in Kiev began to accept it. There were also a number of Christians among the prince's bodyguard. Finally, also the Grand Princess Olga accepted Christianity in 957, although she was unable to persuade her son Svyatoslav to do likewise.

After an attack and capture of the Greek city of Chersonesus, in the Crimea, Prince Vladimir of Kiev sent to the two Emperors who reigned jointly in Byzantium, to ask for their sister Anna in marriage. The reply of the Emperors was that they could not give their sister's hand to a pagan. This decided Vladimir to accept Christianity. After the solemnisation of his

marriage to Anna in Constantinople, he returned to Kiev with icons, priests, and religious books, and the people of the city of Kiev were also baptized. This event took place in 988.

In the rest of the principality, paganism was firmly entrenched for a good many years to come. Even in Kiev itself the acceptance of Christianity only meant a modification of the pagan rites, and a change in the names of the deities.

The conversion, and particularly the closer contacts with Greece and the intensification of trade relations, however, did not remain without influence upon the Kiev principality. Vladimir, who had been a brutal man who brought human sacrifices to his gods, and went to war against his own brothers, killing one of them, became a changed man under the influence of his cultured wife and the Greek advisers who returned with him from Constantinople. He gave up his merely plundering raids, and henceforth limited his warlike campaigns to defensive operations alone.

With Christianity came to Russia also a written language. While they were pagans the Russians had neither temples nor public religious services, but on becoming Christians they had to have churches and prayer books. They were assisted by the fact that another Slav race, the Bulgars, had become Christians a little while before them, and two Greek monks, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, had compiled an alphabet for them. Considering that the Bulgarian language greatly resembles the Russian, the church books were also adopted for the Russian liturgy, and the old Bulgarian language is known as Church Slavonic.

The Russians, like the Greeks, established monasteries, which were at the time the only institutions at which some cultural or educational activities were carried on, for the monks were the only lettered people

in the Middle Ages. The literary pursuits of these monks consisted of making translations from the Greek and copying books as printing was, of course, at that time unknown. The Kiev monastery, called the "Kiev-Pechersky," soon became a great landmark and a centre of the cultural activity of the time. This monastery was reported to have been destroyed by the Germans during their occupation of Kiev in 1941.

The progress of trade relations had also taught the Russians the need of obeying the existing laws. People, however, can only obey laws if they know them. It was therefore necessary to commit the laws to writing. This was done in 1028, in the time of Vladimir's son Yaroslav. This first collection of the laws was called "Russkaya Pravda," and it incorporated all the laws that were in force at the time.

"Russkaya Pravda" is an interesting document, from which we learn a great deal about the life of the people in those early times. We discover, for instance, that there were no law courts in the tenth century. A crime against a person was avenged either by the sufferer himself or by his relatives. The usual punishment was the infliction upon the aggressor of an injury similar to that suffered by the aggrieved. "Russkaya Pravda" prohibits for the first time the relatives of a victim killing the murderer, and enjoins that a fine be paid to them instead.

We learn from "Russkaya Pravda" that the Russians were at that period divided into three main classes: the Boyars or Druzhina (Prince's bodyguard), consisting of the descendants of the conquerors and those who had been allowed to join their ranks; Free-men, consisting of traders and agriculturists; and Slaves, who were captives, and insolvent debtors. A different rate was fixed in payment for the murder of a person of each category. Whilst for the killing of a boyar one had to pay about a pound weight in silver,

only half that amount was exacted for the murder of a freeman, and for the murder of a woman only a quarter. The killing of a slave was compensated in accordance with his qualifications.

Yaroslav, who died in 1054, provided for his sons, as was the customary procedure at the time, by dividing among them his estate. Thus the Kiev principality came to be separated into many little estates, each governed by its prince in accordance with the decision of a popular assembly, but without reference to the Prince of Kiev.

These partitions resulted in a considerable weakening of the Russian State. In addition, the princes frequently quarrelled among themselves and devastated each other's land. Many of them pursued what in modern political language might be called an isolationist policy, and refused to come to the aid of their peers when attacked. The result was that they were all subjugated by neighbours or by powerful invaders one by one.

The further a principality was situated from Kiev, the more independent it regarded itself. Thus the land of Galicia, which was the most western of the Russian States, came to be entirely independent of Kiev. The Suzdal principality, lying north-east of Kiev and separated from it by impassable forests, also asserted its complete self-reliance.

The rich commercial centre of Novgorod had also become independent of Kiev. Novgorod included in its domain the whole northern part of what is now known as European Russia. Her courageous and enterprising citizens collected rich tribute in furs from other tribes. Novgorod was virtually a republic. It was ruled by a popular assembly, the Veche, and its citizens invited any of the descendants of Yaroslav to be their prince, merely dismissing him if they were dissatisfied with his administration.

## TARTARS AND MONGOLS

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A NEW serious danger was threatening the country at this time: A powerful invader, the Polovtsy, a nomad Tartar tribe, appeared on the steppes. After the death of Yaroslav they made it their practice to raid the country almost every spring. They burnt towns and villages, carried off cattle, plundered and looted everything upon which they could lay their hands. But the chief object of their raids was the carrying off of young people, whom they sold into slavery in the distant markets.

Kiev had suffered for more than half a century from these Polovtsy raids before a leader arose who succeeded in organising resistance against them. This man was Vladimir (1113-1125), nicknamed Monomach. He was the son of a daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine, and he was married to Gytha, a daughter of Harold of England. During his rule the country was comparatively free of Polovtsy raids. He even organised several successful expeditions into their own territory, with the result that the Polovtsy were afraid to attack during his rule.

Vladimir's descendants enjoyed the fruits of his reputation, and most principalities were anxious to have a member of his family as their prince. But jealousies and rivalries soon brought them again into conflict, and weakened Russia. While these princes were engaged in their internal quarrels, a new and disastrous attack was directed against the country—the Mongol or Tartar invasion.

Fresh waves of nomads had moved from Asia. These new invaders were so numerous and powerful that they formed the most serious threat with which the Slavs have been faced in their history. The Mongols appeared on the steppes of the Polovtsy and attacked the latter. Realising the seriousness of the

danger, the Polovtsy sent messengers to the Russian princes to ask for their assistance. All the princes of South Russia, conscious of the perilous position, immediately gathered their forces and advanced into the steppe to meet the Tartars. This happened in the year 1224. The two opposing armies met in battle near the present city of Dnepropetrovsk, a district which at that time was in the midst of the open steppe, and far from the Russian frontier. The battle was one of the most momentous in the history of Russia, and cast its shadow for centuries to come. The Russian army was beaten; even few of the princes succeeded in escaping alive.

The destruction of its armies had left Southern Russia entirely unprotected, and the people expected the advance of the victorious enemy into their land. But years passed, and nothing was heard of them. After their victory the Mongols turned back into Asia and went as fast and as unexpectedly as they had come. Southern Russia was free again, for a time.

Up till now Northern Russia had remained unaffected by these events. They had no experience of fighting nomads, as they were far away from the steppe country where these people roamed. When the Tartar avalanche was to return, fourteen years after their first attack, their main impact was to be directed that time against Northern Russia. The second invasion was made not from the Caucasus in the south, but from the Ural river in the east.

The Mongols had established at that time a powerful State in Central Asia, the Mongolia of today, and from there they attacked various countries in search of conquests. They succeeded in subduing one country after another in their victorious march.

Before, however, he had completed his task and consolidated his gains, the founder of the State, Ginghis Khan (The Great Khan), died suddenly, and the vast

State was divided among his heirs.

The Mongols regarded themselves as having a right to the Russian lands after the victory of 1224. These lands were apportioned to a grandson of Ginghis Khan, Batu. The latter moved with his Tartars from Mongolia into the Russian territory. They came in huge numbers with their families, wagons and herds, with the intention of establishing themselves on the Russian plains, which were suitable for a nomadic life, and exacting tribute from the Russian people. It was the Ryazan region, south-east of Moscow, which lay first in the track of the invader. The Tartars demanded from the people of Ryazan a tenth of all property as tribute. The people refused to pay, and defended themselves with great courage and tenacity.

Batu decided to mete out punishment to the people of Ryazan as a warning and example to the other territories. The town was taken, sacked and burnt. Similar treatment was administered to the other towns of the principality under the walls of which its citizens sought safety.

From Ryazan the invaders advanced into the territory of Suzdal, the leading principality of North Russia. While Prince Yuri was collecting an army to meet the invaders, the capital town of the principality, Vladimir, was taken and burnt, and the prince's family murdered. Yuri had by that time gathered his army and decided to give battle. He met the invaders near the river Siti—this was in 1238—the Siti being a tributary of the Mologa, which joins the Volga. But Yuri's forces were defeated and he himself killed.

Batu next advanced into the domains of Novgorod, but was prevented by the Spring floods and overflowing lakes from reaching the northern capital itself. He then turned southwards, and threatened Kiev. As the city refused to submit it was taken by assault, and

shared the fate of Suzdal and Vladimir.

The Mongols settled in the steppes of the lower Volga region, where the river falls into the Caspian Sea. At the very mouth of the river they built their capital, Saray, in which the Khan took up his residence.

The new State was named Zolotaya Orda (The Golden Horde), and it held Russia in its grip. Tartar tax-collectors exacted tribute from the people, and the Russian princes had to render homage to the Khan in Zolotaya Orda. Occasionally they had to travel to Mongolia to pay homage to the Great Khan himself. Beyond this the Tartars did not interfere in Russia's internal affairs. Many historians exaggerate the importance of the Tartar conquest upon the subsequent development of Russia, particularly upon the establishment of autocracy.

Nor did the Tartars interfere in religious matters. To the contrary, they treated the Church with every consideration. The Russian Church was at the time a national and political, rather than a spiritual, institution. The Church owed its origin and existence to the princes, and soon became an official institution dependent upon the prince. Bishops were appointed on the recommendation of the ruler and were dismissed when they no longer pleased him. The prince built monasteries and managed them as his own estates. Only the popular assembly "the Veche" exercised a similar influence upon the Church by appointing bishops and archbishops.

After the Tartar conquest the Church had looked for, and found, a more powerful protector than their own prince—the Khan himself. The archbishop, who had removed his residence from Kiev to Vladimir on the Klyazma, had established direct contact with the Khan, who granted him a patent ("Zhalovanaya Gramota"), which conferred upon the Church various

privileges. The Church was freed of all taxation, and the archbishop ("Metropolitan") became the chief judge in all lawsuits in which the Church was affected. The only service the Khan demanded of the Church in return was that prayers should be said for him and his family. He, no doubt, realized the importance of persuading the people that his rule was ordained by God.

The Church benefited more from this arrangement than the Khan. The Tartar rule was ultimately overthrown, while the Church maintained its independence for centuries to come.

### A NEW ENEMY ARISES.

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THE first half of the thirteenth century was a time of serious difficulties for Russia.

While the Tartars were attacking the country from the east, the Germans were invading from the west. At first the Germans came as traders. Sailing their ships from the Baltic Sea up the rivers that empty into it—the Neva and Northern Dvina—they soon began to settle among the Letts and Esthonians (Finns) who inhabited the Baltic coast. They subjugated them, deprived them of their land, made them into serfs, and began to convert them forcibly into Catholicism. Having secured Livonia, the invaders began to cast longing eyes upon Russia, and they were fired with a desire to convert Russia—which professed the Orthodox faith—to Catholicism. In this enterprise they received the support of the Catholics of other countries. The Pope urged the Swedes to join in the crusade against Russia. The Swedes dutifully obeyed, and Russia was now confronted with a threat from two directions. The Swedes from the north, and the Germans, reinforced by the so-called "Teutonic

Knights," a band of warrior monks, who claimed to be serving God with their swords, from the West.

The storm broke over Novgorod, the nearest Russian land to the enemy. This principality had no ruling dynasty of its own. As mentioned before, it merely invited princes from other Russian lands, and if these proved incompetent or unsatisfactory, summarily dismissed them, and invited others to take their place.

When the Swedes launched their attack in 1240, Novgorod was ruled by a young prince from Suzdal, Alexander, who proved a capable and courageous leader. He fell upon the Swedes unexpectedly and utterly defeated them. The routed invaders fled to their ships and succeeded in making their escape. For this campaign Alexander received the title "Nevsky," which means "of the Neva."

In the following year Novgorod was also delivered from the German menace. The Germans had seized Pskov, the principal fortress of Novgorod, and their troops began to devastate the whole district. Alexander was then at variance with the people of the city, but in the face of the threatened danger they asked him to return. Alexander's return marked a change in the fortune of the war. Pskov was recaptured and the countryside was cleared of the Germans. The Teutonic knights gathered a strong force for a final attack, and Alexander advanced to meet them. The two armies met on the ice of Lake Peipus. The battle was long and desperate, but at last the Germans were defeated and took to flight. After this experience the "knights" never again attempted to invade or conquer Russia.

Alexander Nevsky also saved Russia from another Tartar invasion. Realising that the country was not yet strong enough to take up the struggle against the Tartars, fifteen years after the first invasion, he endeavoured to maintain the amicable relations then

existing between the two peoples, and to please the Khan by gifts and obedience. He visited Zolotaya Orda and the Great Khan in Mongolia, and actually was on the way home from such a visit when he died.

### THE RISE OF MOSCOW.

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THE feudal system was introduced in Central Russia in the thirteenth century. At that time it was customary for the warrior class or nobles to take a piece of forest land, clear it, and cultivate it for a few years. Then, as soon as the ground began to show signs of exhaustion, it was abandoned by the owners, who moved to a fresh plot. The agricultural population was therefore nomadic, but the peasants were not yet attached to the land, *i.e.*, serfdom was not yet an established system.

Every feudal landowner depended upon his men for practically everything. They had to work for a certain number of days in his fields. The bootmaker had to make footgear for him, and the tailor his clothes. In case of war they also had to join his armed forces. In view of the difficulties and dangers of travel at the time each noble endeavoured to be as independent as possible of the outside world, and the local population were expected to supply all his needs. In return for these services the noble had to defend his men, which constituted at the time a valuable consideration.

Trade remained almost undeveloped. The trader had a very difficult life. He was either attacked by the noble and robbed of his stock, or the noble established a custom house on his estate, and made all passing merchants pay high duties on their goods. As the estates through which the trader had to pass were numerous, he was usually deprived of his merchandise before he reached his destination. This, not

unnaturally, discouraged people from engaging in trading activities.

The nobles were also in continuous strife with each other, and the more powerful of them endeavoured to eliminate the weaker and absorb their estates. This struggle resulted in the gradual disappearance of the smaller estates. The small landowner became more and more dependent upon the more powerful nobles.

While this process was going on, Moscow was acquiring a dominant position in the Russian landscape. This growth was neither accidental, nor was it due to the special qualities of its ruling princes. To the contrary, it is obvious from all the available evidence that the Moscow princes were among the dullest and least able of all. It was rather the favourable geographical position of Moscow which determined the growth of the young State. Through Moscow passed the two main trade routes of the country. The road from west to east—from Smolensk to Vladimir on the Klyasma, and from north to south, Novgorod to the fertile lands of Ryazan—both lay via Moscow.

This fact was naturally of great advantage to the Moscow Prince, who collected customs from trade going in four directions. Another advantage enjoyed by Moscow was its central position, which secured for it considerable immunity from attack. This comparative security attracted settlers, particularly of the merchant class, and Moscow became an important trading centre.

The Moscow princes were thus in a position to accumulate large resources, and they usually made full use of their opportunities. In the second half of the fourteenth century the Moscow Prince was nicknamed Kalita, “Bag of Gold.” Though he was the richest, he was by no means the strongest of the Russian

princes, but he profited even by his weakness. All the Russian princes were vassals of the Tartar khan, and the latter was disinclined to assist or favour the strong for fear that they might be tempted to challenge his power. The strongest among the princes, the ruler of Tver, did actually try to organise a rising to throw off the Tartar yoke. The Moscow Prince, being weak and wealthy, was favoured by the Khan, who appointed him to the position of chief tax-gatherer. It was his duty to collect the tribute and hand it over to the Khan.

The Moscow Prince also lent money to poorer princes, and if the debtor was unable to meet his obligations, he forfeited his estates. The Moscow Prince acquired, too, the support of the Church, when the Metropolitan of Vladimir, Peter, transferred his See to Moscow, which thus also became the religious centre of Russia.

His own wealth, the support of Church and Khan, enabled the Prince of Moscow to gain a dominant place among the princes of the Russian states. This process was a gradual one, but it was practically complete within a century.

Moscow had also experienced an enormous increase in population. In 1147 it was merely a small estate belonging to Yury Dolgoruky, the Prince of Vladimir, and occupying the site of one of the Kremlin palaces. By the end of the fourteenth century, Moscow already had a population amounting to several tens of thousands. But by the end of the sixteenth, the population of the city was, according to the testimony of an English traveller, somewhat larger than that of London. Moscow must thus have become one of the biggest cities in Europe, and certainly the largest in Russia.

Novgorod was the second largest Russian city. Situated on the River Volkhov about 360 miles north

of Moscow, Novgorod had acquired even greater importance as a trading centre than her rival. Her position at the configuration of waterways leading to the Baltic Sea, the Northern Dvina and the Volga, resulted in her becoming the chief trading centre for furs, one of the most valuable commodities on the world market at the time. Novgorod was also the trading centre for silver, which she received from the Urals. This metal was highly valued in the Middle Ages, as it was rare, and was used as a medium of exchange.

Its favourable geographic position and the possession of furs and silver enabled Novgorod to establish close trading relations with the Baltic States, with the towns on the Rhine, and with the Hanseatic League. Merchants from these cities took up permanent residence in Novgorod and established warehouses and offices there. It was the only Russian city at the time in direct contact with Western Europe, with the result that the influence of Western culture was stronger there than anywhere else. Although nominally subordinated to a prince, Novgorod was actually a republic. Its citizens appointed the prince, the commander-in-chief, the judges, the district administration, and other administrative bodies.

Only the city population enjoyed the advantages of freedom and self-government, however. The peasants in the principality were even less free than in the other Russian principalities. Serfdom was imposed upon the villagers of Novgorod even earlier than in the other Russian States.

Moscow's merchants were envious of Novgorod's position as a trading centre in furs and silver, and were determined to capture its trade. A long struggle ensued, in which the balance of power tended more and more in Moscow's favour. Its princes had

gradually acquired power over the other Russian rulers and had accumulated a strong military force. Moscow also had at its command a formidable Tartar cavalry, which was greatly feared at the time.

Another advantage to Moscow in this struggle was the internal contradiction within the Novgorod State itself. Only the rich boyars and the lower strata of the town's population were the real defenders of Novgorod's independence. The traders were less concerned about their liberties than about peace with Moscow, which enabled them to trade without hindrance on the lower Volga region. To the village population, too, it was entirely immaterial whether they should be the serfs of Novgorod or of Moscow nobles. The resistance of the middle classes and of the peasantry against the encroachments of Moscow was therefore half-hearted, and the outcome of the struggle was a foregone conclusion.

Still another factor which increased disunity in Novgorod and aided the rival city in the struggle against that rich and extensive territory was that the boyars of Novgorod, fearing Moscow's designs, were planning to place the principality under the Grand Prince of Lithuania. The common people, on the other hand, feared association with Catholic Lithuania, and preferred incorporation in the Orthodox Moscow State.

### THE FIRST TSAR.

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THE two campaigns which Moscow conducted against Novgorod under Ivan III were entirely successful, and Novgorod ceased to exist as an independent State. The bell by which its citizens used to be summoned to the popular assembly was brought to Moscow, and the whole realm of Novgorod passed under the rule of Moscow's Grand Prince. Tver,

another independent principality, was likewise compelled to surrender to Moscow. Thus was completed the unification of the Russian land under Moscow in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Ivan III became a widower early in life and, in 1471, he took a Greek princess as his second consort. The Byzantine Greek Empire had come to an end somewhat earlier, having been conquered by the Turks in 1453. Zoe Paleologus, the niece of the last Greek emperor, found asylum in Rome, and the Pope Sixtus IV, who hoped with Zoe's help to amalgamate the Latin and the Greek Churches, conceived the plan of marrying her to the Grand Prince of Moscow, who was at that time the only Orthodox ruler independent of the Turks.

Zoe, whose name was changed to Sophia on her marriage, disliked the simplicity of the Moscow court, and was determined to introduce into her new home the pomp and refinement of the Byzantine court.

The cultural results of this endeavour were significant. Foreign architects were invited to Moscow to build stone palaces for the Grand Prince as well as churches, in place of the simple wooden structures that had existed till then. The rich boyars also emulated the Prince and built stone houses for themselves.

Relations were also established with western countries. Ivan was the first Moscow Prince to enter into diplomatic relations with European Courts. He sent embassies to Rome, Florence, Turin and Naples, and received the Ambassadors from different States. He concluded alliances with the German Emperor Maximilian, with the King of Hungary, and with Denmark. He also signed a commercial treaty with the Sultan of Turkey.

Ivan III contributed also to an improvement in the laws of the country by the issue in 1497 of a code of laws known as the "Sudebnik." This was based chiefly

on an earlier work, "Russkaya Pravda," mentioned before.

To his wife's influence also is ascribed Ivan's final decision to shake off the Tartar yoke and refusal to pay further tribute to the Golden Horde. When the ambassadors of Khan Ahmed arrived in Moscow, the Prince refused to pay tribute. The Khan invaded Russia, but his army was beaten by the Russian forces on the river Oka in 1480, and compelled to retreat. The year 1480 is therefore regarded as the date of Russia's liberation from the Mongolian oppression. Ivan also extended his territory further by the annexation of Vyatka.

Ivan was no longer satisfied with the mere title of Grand Prince of Moscow, but insisted on being addressed as Tsar, which is the Russian equivalent of the Roman "Caesar." He also regarded himself as heir and successor to the Byzantine Emperor, and as having, consequently, a claim on Constantinople, an ambition which was also nursed by many of the subsequent Tsars. With these rights he assumed as well the responsibility of Protector of Orthodox Christianity against Mohammedanism, a duty which involved considerable political advantages and which could, moreover, be ignored when inconvenient.

Thus Ivan's marriage to a Greek princess brought in its wake a number of positive results. The negative consequences of this union, although less direct, were no less significant. The alliance with the House of Byzantium had given a new glitter to the Prince of Moscow, who was formerly regarded as merely the foremost among his boyars, and of no specific divinity. Under Ivan's rule the boyars were gradually excluded from taking any part in State deliberations. Thus was gradually and artificially evolved the absurd conception of the Tsars as a race apart, a concept particularly

fostered and with tragic results under the Romanovs. Although the word "Autocrat," which Ivan III was first to use, originally only meant that the Tsar was independent of any foreign ruler, it soon began to be interpreted as independent also of all the political institutions, traditions, customs, laws, rights and privileges. Unhindered by scruples or pity, Ivan was determined to build up a strong and centralised State at whatever price in blood, suffering and sacrifice.

Ivan must therefore be considered the first Russian autocrat, the founder of the doctrine of absolute, arbitrary and personal government in Russia. And in this respect his marriage to Zoe played no small or insignificant part.

Ivan's son by his first marriage had died prematurely, leaving a young son, Dimitry, who was heir-presumptive. Ivan, however, passed over his grandson and appointed his second son, Basil, by his wife Sophia, as his successor. Basil continued the general policy inaugurated by his father. He annexed under various pretexts the still independent principalities and maintained some relations with foreign countries. In his time Pskov, Ryazan and Smolensk suffered the same fate as befel Novgorod and Tver under his father. Basil's marriage to Helena Glinsky, niece of a Lithuanian prince, resulted in an extension of Moscow's contracts with foreign countries. Several princely families came over from Lithuania in Helena's retinue, and these were instrumental in promoting and maintaining relations with Poland, Lithuania and Germany. The connections established with Rome and Italy on his mother's arrival in Russia were also fostered.

## IVAN THE TERRIBLE.

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BASIL appointed his wife, Helena Glinsky, as Regent during the minority of his infant son Ivan. She died, however, five years later, and was believed to have been poisoned by hostile boyars. After her death, the young prince was under the tutelage of some boyar families, and Prince Andrew Shuisky became Regent.

When Ivan was thirteen he ordered his servants to seize the Regent and throw him to the dogs, to be torn to pieces. When this was accomplished, Ivan surrounded himself with his maternal relatives, the Glinskys.

In 1547, when sixteen, Ivan was crowned, and he assumed the title of Tsar. In the same year he married a girl of his own choice, Anastasia. She was the daughter of an ordinary, not princely, boyar, Roman Koshkin. Anastasia Romanova thus started the tragic association of her family with Russia's destiny, which was to last for more than three centuries, and only came to a dramatic end in 1917.

Another event of the same year was the Great Fire of Moscow, in which practically the whole wooden city was consumed. The people were left roofless and foodless, and there was great misery and discontent in the capital. The anger was all the greater because the people believed vaguely that the young ruler himself was the instigator of the fire. The result was that the young prince had to mend his ways somewhat and observe a more moderate line of conduct.

Ivan IV entertained a distrust and dislike of the numerous appanage princes who, till that time, assisted in the government of the country. A struggle between the self-willed autocrat and the boyars was therefore inevitable. Being an astute political tactician, Ivan

cunningly used the lesser nobility, traders and artisans to break the power of the aristocracy in Russia.

At that time the two main sections of Moscow society, the boyars and the smaller landowners, favoured contradictory foreign policies. While the boyars were in favour of peace, the small landowners were agitating for an expansionist policy in order to extend their possessions. The Tartar lands on the Central and Lower Volga offered at the time suitable ground for a successful campaign. The once mighty Zolotaya Orda was semi-demoralised and in a state of decline. In place of the once-powerful realm there were now three independent States—Kazan, Astrakhan and the Crimea, each of which was no match to the united strength of Russia.

The plan for an attack upon the Tartar States on the Volga was also popular with the merchant class, who wanted to extend their trade routes along the entire Volga to the East. At that time silk and other valuable goods imported from the East were in great demand and fetched high prices.

In this expansionist policy the merchants enjoyed the support of the artisans, whose economic existence depended upon the custom of the traders. As a result Ivan had to take account of the desires of this, the most energetic, section of his population and act.

The Prince was all the more ready to do so, as it harmonised with his personal interests and inclinations, and was opposed to the policy recommended by the boyars, whom he hated.

The Russian armies besieged and captured Kazan in 1552. This resulted in the destruction of the Khanate and its incorporation with Russia. Four years later Astrakhan shared the same fate.

Thus came to an end the last stronghold of Mongol rule in Russia after centuries of domination. Russia

had also acquired the territory on the Volga up to the Caspian Sea.

To round off the conquests and establish contact with the West it was necessary to capture also the northern extremity of the route by securing an entrance into the Baltic Sea. But this attempt involved Moscow in a war against two strong military States of the time—Poland and Sweden.

The course of this war was unsuccessful for Russia, which even lost some territory in the north which had formerly belonged to Novgorod. The military party accused those who were not in favour of the war—the boyars—of betrayal and incompetence. The defection of the Commander-in-Chief of the Muscovite armies in Livonia, Prince Kurbsky, seemed to lend substance to these accusations. Deprived of the possibility of extending their properties by the seizure of foreign land, owing to the failure of the campaign in the north, the war party was determined to take possession of the estates of the boyars, and a movement against the latter was soon under way.

The merchant class, too, was galled by the unsuccessful issue of the war which they had supported, and they ascribed this failure to the betrayal, or at least to the cowardice and incompetence, of the boyars.

All this, of course, was grist to Ivan's mill. In 1564 a reign of terror was introduced against the boyars for their alleged treason. Whole families were mercilessly exterminated and their estates confiscated. Nominally the Tsar became the sole ruler, but the small land-owners and the merchants were the power behind the throne. Although the Council of Boyars was not abolished, it was deprived of all potency.

The terror was, however, not directed against the boyars alone, but also against the groups associated with the old order. The Church, monasteries and the

remnants of the Novgorod traders became the objects of fierce persecution and repression. All this was carried out with a cruelty that justly earned for the author and inspirer of the acts the nickname of "The Terrible."

Ivan IV was, of course, brutal and abnormal, and he personally played a prominent part in this struggle between two classes for domination. In his letters to Prince Kurbksy, who had escaped to Lithuania, he tried to justify the terror of his reign, and prove the necessity for his changes.

It must also be remembered that his was a brutal age. It was the era of Henry VIII, of Catherine de Medici, of Phillip II, of Ferdinand the Catholic, and similar rulers. It was the time of the Inquisition and of St. Bartholomew's Night, a period of cruelties and bestialities which has only been excelled in our own times by Hitler.

Ivan established a special bodyguard, the "Oprichniky," for the purpose of breaking the boyars. Their official duty was to "eradicate treason," and they were placed in a privileged position above the law.

When not engaged in his favourite pastime of murder, Ivan liked to participate in church services and religious discussion. Ivan himself, with three hundred of his bodyguard, wearing monks' cowls over their gorgeous apparel, passed hours in fervent prayers and genuflexion. At these services Ivan acted as chaplain. But during the intervals these "monks" would occasionally rush out and put to death some unfortunate people, with the long knives hidden beneath their cowls.

Ivan's long reign of over half a century (1533-1584) was rich in events, and was noteworthy for much that was good and infinitely more that was evil.

In his early period, after the burning of Moscow,

when there was a great deal of discontent and misery in the country, he surrounded himself with men like Adashev and the monk Silvester, who had a moderating influence on the Tsar. Among the reforms introduced at the time on the advice of his new counsellors, and for which the country indeed was ready, was one of the administration. At that time officials were not paid fixed salaries, but requisitioned supplies in kind from the local inhabitants. This, of course, led to exactions and oppressions. The fixing of stipends to be paid by the Government and the abolition of the exactions therefore gave great satisfaction. The substitution of elected persons for the "appointed men" was also favoured by the population. Henceforward the people themselves elected their governors and judges.

Another useful reform at this period was the compilation of the "Legal Code," a collection of laws for the administration of justice.

At that time also was convoked the first so-called "Popular Assembly." The Tsar summoned to Moscow persons from all parts of the country, chosen from different classes. The first Assembly, which met in 1566, consisted of 32 bishops and clergy, 258 boyars, nine landed proprietors, 53 merchants, 23 Smolensk merchants, and a few officials. These were chosen by the different classes to which they belonged and not by popular vote. This Assembly was only called upon to confirm the decisions of the new Autocrat, and could in no way affect these decisions.

A Council was also called to regulate Church questions. The book containing the decisions of this Council is known as Stoglav—"the Book of a Hundred Chapters," and sheds much light on the practices of the Church at the time.

Anastasia had exercised a good influence on the

cruel and impetuous young ruler. On her death his two counsellors, Adashev and Silvester, were dismissed, and the reign of terror against the boyars particularly intensified.

The extermination of the boyars also led to a deterioration in the position of the peasants. An estate which had formerly supported one boyar and his court was usually divided among twenty or more landowners and had to maintain them and their followers, while the methods of land cultivation were not changed.

The ruined peasantry endeavoured to escape from their bondage by flight whenever possible. The land-owners, however, did not wish to be deprived of their free labour, and at their request the Government had decrees issued which made it impossible for peasants to flee.

The new bondage imposed upon them was infinitely more severe than the old feudal obligations. Moreover, it became operative for the whole country. There was no place to which the peasants could escape from these impositions. As a result, dissatisfaction among the peasantry was continuously growing. The general discontent among the rural population was especially stimulated by the frequently recurring famines owing to the exhaustion of the soil.

In Ivan's reign Moscow was first visited by an English explorer. An expedition of three ships had set out in May, 1553, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby in search of a North-East passage to China and India. Two of the ships were wrecked off the Kola peninsula and Sir Hugh and all his men perished from cold. The third ship, under the command of Richard Chancellor, succeeded in entering the mouth of the Dvina, where Archangel now stands. There he was welcomed by fishermen, who offered him provisions without even being asked. He was informed that the

"country was Russia and Muscovy, and that in these realms Ivan Vasilievich ruled and governed a great multitude of nations, subject to his imperial sway."

Chancellor was invited to visit Moscow, and has left an interesting description of the city in Ivan's time. He returned to England in the following year, having discovered Russia instead of the Northern sea route he had set out to find. In 1556 Chancellor made a second voyage to Russia. This time Ivan sent back with him the first Russian ambassador to the English Court, Osep Napes. Although two of the three ships that participated in this second expedition were wrecked, Chancellor's succeeded in reaching Scotland, only to be wrecked there. In spite of these mishaps and existing difficulties, commercial relations were established between the two countries. In 1557-8 the famous navigator Anthony Jenkinson escorted the Russian ambassador Napes back to Moscow. Jenkinson was an observant visitor, and has left an interesting description of Ivan the Terrible.

The trade relations were maintained also under Elizabeth, and a number of depots for English goods were founded in Russia. In 1584 the town of Archangel was founded as a convenient port of shipment. Ivan actually corresponded with Elizabeth, and tried, unsuccessfully, to involve her in an alliance against Poland and Sweden.

An important development of the time was the beginning of the conquest of Siberia. This, however, was not an achievement of the Tsar's armed forces, but of free Cossacks who crossed the Ural mountains into Asia under the leadership of the Hetman Ermak. This invasion was carried out at the instigation of a wealthy merchant family named Stroganov, who owned land and did much business on the Kama river, at the foot of the Urals. Having established their hold in Asia,

the Cossacks proceeded to the conquest of the Tartar kingdom on the River Ob. From that point the Russians persisted in their penetration until the whole of Siberia was occupied.

On Ivan's death in 1584 he left two sons, Feodor by his first wife, Anastasia, and Dimitry, by his seventh wife, Maria Nogaya. He had killed his eldest son, Ivan, by striking him with his iron staff during a paroxysm of fury. An attempt by the Nogay family and their supporters to put Dimitry upon the throne failed, and the prince, who was still an infant, and his mother, were banished to Uglich, a small town on the Volga, 100 miles north of Moscow.

### FEODOR THE MEEK.

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FEODOR, who succeeded his father Ivan, was entirely unlike his fierce parent. Physically weak, he was of a mild disposition, and was attracted by the peace and quiet of monastic life. He had no understanding of the art of a ruler or inclination to practise it. Some historians are of the opinion that he was merely an imbecile, who amused himself by ringing church bells, and there is considerable substance for such opinion.

Feodor had married Irene, a sister of Boris Godunov, a leading boyar of Tartar descent. Owing to Feodor's physical and mental condition, Boris soon became the actual ruler of Russia. An enlightened and intelligent man, he endeavoured during Feodor's reign, and afterwards, when he himself ascended the throne, to introduce Western civilization to Russia, and he invited scientists and craftsmen from abroad. He wanted to open schools for the people, but this innovation was opposed by the Church.

When a famine occurred Boris opened his granaries,

and did all in his power to alleviate distress. He also undertook at the time various constructions to provide work for the poor.

Feodor had died without issue. His younger half-brother, Dimitry, who was heir to the throne, had died during Feodor's lifetime, apparently by violence. He was playing in the courtyard of his palace in Uglich, and was found dead with a wound in his throat. The public suspected foul play, and a riot broke out in which some men, thought to be guilty of the murder of Dimitry, were killed by the crowd. Later, certain boyars, who were sent from Moscow to investigate the affair, reported that during an epileptic fit, the prince had fallen upon a sword with which he was playing. Shortly after this event, however, a rumour was spread in Russia that the heir was killed by secret agents of Boris Godunov. When Feodor died in 1598 and Boris was elected by the popular Assembly to the throne, this rumour gained strength.

When a failure of the crops occurred in three successive years and terrible famine ensued, Boris, in spite of helping with private and State funds, was nevertheless blamed by the people, who regarded this visitation as a punishment for his sin.

In the midst of all these troubles another rumour circulated throughout the country. It asserted that the murderers dispatched by Boris had made a mistake and killed the wrong boy, and that Prince Dimitry was alive and in hiding in Lithuania.

## THE COSSACKS.

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FREEBOOTERS made their first appearance in the steppes of the south-eastern borders of Russia in the fifteenth century. The increased oppression of the peasants had induced many of them to escape to the

outskirts in an attempt to secure their freedom. In spite of the strict laws passed from time to time, the number of escaped serfs was very great. Many hid in nearby forests, but the more enterprising ventured as far as the south-eastern borderlands of the Moscow State, where, owing to the shortage of farm hands, they could hope to obtain employment. These territories included the southern part of the present Ryazan, Kaluga and Tula Provinces, as well as the Orel, Voronezh and Chernigov Provinces. This area was then covered with thick, impenetrable forests, maintained in good condition for defence purposes, as they formed a convenient rampart against the raids by Crimean Tartars in search of slaves.

The more daring of the runaways made their way through the forest lands to the territory of the Don and Kuban, which were only nominally held by the Tsars and where the administration could not reach them. It is true that they were faced there by other dangers, particularly from the roving Tartar bands in search of slaves, but the advantages were worth the risk. There was more land of which they could take possession and become independent farmers and even landowners. While one half of the people was ploughing, the other half had to stand by with loaded weapons to repel an attack which might develop at any moment. Life was, even so, easier and more abundant. There were many animals to hunt, and the River Don and its confluentes were rich in all kinds of fish.

Thus were formed south of the Moscow State free Cossack settlements, consisting of men determined under no circumstances to return to the serf conditions under which they had had to exist in the Tsar's domain.

The word Cossack is of Tartar origin and meant at first "robber" or "tramp." Afterwards this term was

applied to military forces composed of these vagabonds. There were Tartar Cossacks long before the appearance of the Russian ones.

The Moscow Government realised the potential danger to the semi-feudal State emanating from these free and partly-free settlers on their borders. The frequent attacks made on passing caravans by the Cossacks increased their unpopularity. But Moscow was powerless to do anything about it. They needed these rough and ready warriors to protect the outskirts against the marauding Tartar bands. They even increased their numbers by banishing to these parts political or ordinary criminals, particularly peasants of executed boyars. They did, however, endeavour to prevent their return to the interior of the country. Under Godunov, Cossacks were not even allowed to visit towns. It was also forbidden to sell them gunpowder and arms. This contradictory policy, naturally, achieved nothing and only succeeded in making the Moscow Government hated by the Cossacks. Their settlements meantime continued to grow, and with this access of power they also acquired greater political influence.

In the course of time a new branch of Cossacks, in addition to those on the Don and Kuban, came into being on the banks of the Dnieper. These consisted mainly of refugees from the Ukraine, which was at that time nominally under Polish rule. The freebooters on the Dnieper were known as Zaporozhye Cossacks, meaning from "beyond the rapids."

When the rumour that Godunov was not the real Tsar, and that Dimitry was alive, had reached the Cossacks they espoused the cause of the False Dimitry, in the hope that the new Tsar would enable them to return to their native districts, not as serfs, but as landowners. Within the country itself the

impoverished peasants were ready to recognise as Tsar anybody who would promise to alleviate their almost intolerable position.

## PEASANT REVOLTS.

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THE Pretender made his first appearance among the Cossacks of the Zaporozhye. Afterwards he went to Kiev, which was at that time incorporated in the Polish-Lithuanian State. There he found fresh support among the numerous Russian refugees. These were made up mainly of retainers and friends of executed boyars and of merchants. He also received the active support of the Polish State, which was interested in stirring up trouble in Russia, and of Polish landowners who hoped to acquire territory east of Moscow as a result of the disorders. Polish expansion to the south was at the time barred by the active opposition of the Tartars.

The chief forces upon which the Pretender relied, however, were the Cossacks and the impoverished and starving people of Russia, who awaited his coming with impatience. Godunov's Russian levies fought only half-heartedly against the Pretender, and he had to rely mainly on his German hirelings. These were not, however, sufficiently numerous to decide the campaign for him. There were risings among his troops, who were reluctant to fight against one whom they believed to be the rightful heir.

The nobility and lesser nobility of the Ukrainian towns were the first to abandon Godunov and rebel against him. His troops deserted to the enemy, and the frightened commanders had to flee. Abandoned by everyone, Godunov died suddenly, and is believed to have committed suicide by taking poison.

In 1605, when the Pretender had just suffered a

serious defeat, the news spread of Boris's death and of the fact that his son Feodor had ascended the throne.

Basmanov, one of the ablest generals of the day, was sent with a large army by the new Tsar against the Pretender. The defection of Basmanov, who went over to Dimitry, sealed the fate of the Godunov family. Feodor and his mother were strangled in Moscow, and Dimitry made a triumphant entry into the capital.

Godunov's rule was distinguished by its essentially peaceful nature. He built the town of Archangel, and erected fortresses between Kazan and Astrakhan to prevent invasions from the east. Smolensk was also fortified and the wooden walls of Moscow replaced with the stone wall of the Kremlin. Commercial intercourse with foreign countries was stimulated, and trade with England was increased. He also encouraged education, and on his instructions a number of young men were sent abroad to study.

### **THE FALSE DIMITRY.**

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FEW definite facts are known about the false Dimitry who came to the throne on the assassination of Godunov's son. His real name is believed to have been Grigory Otrepev, and he was for a time a monk of the Chudov Monastery in the Kremlin. He first appeared in the service of a Polish noble, Prince Adam Wisnoviecki, in Lithuania, to whom he revealed his alleged identity. Prince Adam acknowledged him to be Dimitry and introduced him to his more influential namesake, Prince Constantin Wisnoviecki, who brought him to the notice of Sigismundus IV of Poland. The latter acknowledged him as Tsar of Moscow, and assigned him a large pension. The young Pretender also enjoyed the support of the Jesuits, who no doubt intended to use him for the conversion of Russia to Catholicism.

The first decrees issued by Dimitry from the Moscow throne indicated whose support he intended to rely on. One of his early decrees provided that a contracted debt no longer pledged the whole family, but only the actual borrower. By this reform if a person was unable to meet his obligations only he, himself, lost part of his freedom, while his family remained free. The servitude only lasted during the lifetime of the lender. On his death the serf became automatically liberated again.

Another decree practically abolished all the limitations imposed on runaway serfs. All those who had escaped during the famine were allowed to remain in their new place of settlement, and could no longer be forced to return to their former owners when discovered. It was obvious that the landowners, particularly owners of large estates, were going to be dissatisfied with the new Government.

There was discontent also amongst the merchant class. Dimitry was accompanied from Poland to Moscow by many Poles and Lithuanians, who intended to establish themselves in the Russian capital. The Russian traders feared that these settlers would be followed by Polish and Lithuanian merchants with their foreign goods.

The large landowners and the merchants soon started a whispering campaign against Dimitry, who was a Roman Catholic. Although he kept his faith a close secret, it soon became apparent from his way of living and from his indifference to Church holidays, and his non-observance of fasts, that he was not a member of the Greek Orthodox Church. His antagonists spread rumours that he had come to Russia to introduce Catholicism. The Polish troops also antagonised the population by behaving as if in a conquered country. The common people regarded this

as proof of Dimitry's intention to hand over Russia to a foreign power, and they accepted the stories propagated by the agents of the boyars and merchants.

Dimitry was so sure of his hold upon the country that he neglected all precautions. A plot was hatched by the boyars and merchants. On the night of May 17, 1606, the plotters decided to act. The boyar Prince Vasily Shuisky, who a few months earlier had been discovered plotting, and sentenced to death, but subsequently pardoned by Dimitry, broke into the Kremlin at the head of his armed serfs, other boyars and their followers. At the same time other bands of armed plotters attacked houses occupied by the Poles who had come to Moscow with Dimitry. They thus tried to give the movement the character of an uprising against foreign domination, and in defence of the Orthodox Church against Catholicism, instead of revealing its true purpose of ridding the country of a ruler who favoured the poor.

After Dimitry's overthrow the boyars and merchants selected as Tsar a man from their own midst. The new choice was Prince Shuisky, who was at the head of the plot against Dimitry. Although mistrusted by the boyars because he had served in Ivan's bodyguard, the Oprichniky, which had exterminated many boyar families, Shuisky belonged to an old boyar family himself and was, after all, one of themselves, even if a scoundrel. He had also established close ties with the Moscow merchant class by being the owner of large industrial properties in what is now the Vladimir Province, and of shops in Moscow itself. It was from the belfry of the church on his trading estate that the signal was given for the Moscow rising of May 17, which led to Dimitry being deposed. The merchant class of Russia welcomed the choice of Shuisky and accorded him support during his short reign.

Prince Shuisky was a man of low moral standards, avaricious, untruthful, and hypocritical. He publicly contradicted on several occasions his own statements, thus proving to the people that he had lied to them previously. In Godunov's time, for example, he publicly declared that he had seen with his own eyes the dead body of Dimitry. But when Dimitry came to power he denied his earlier statement by recognising the new Tsar. After murdering the false Dimitry he again contradicted himself by revealing the *relicues* of the boy Dimitry allegedly killed on Godunov's orders in Uglich.

Shuisky incorporated only the negative aspects of Godunov's reign. Like Godunov he supported the merchant class, but unlike Godunov, he made no attempt to introduce order in the country or to restrict the exploitation of the poor by the traders.

Shuisky also tried to tighten again the yoke of serfdom about the necks of the peasants. He restored the old laws concerning escaped serfs. Landowners were even allowed to regain possession of serfs who had escaped during any of the preceding fifteen years. This decree remained, however, an empty threat. Shortly after Shuisky's accession to the throne, in the general disorder which prevailed in the country, it was not the landowners who were hunting the peasants, but the reverse. The peasants were hounding the estate owners, killing them and seizing their lands, so that the latter had to flee to Moscow for safety.

As early as the autumn of 1606 the whole southern part of the Moscow State was in the throes of rebellion. As soon as the news of the murder of Dimitry became known to the troops of the Southern Army, the whole army revolted. Shuisky's reputation for lying was so firmly entrenched that it was believed that he was lying again, and that Dimitry had had another

miraculous escape and was again in hiding.

And soon a man appeared who claimed to be Dimitry, and to have escaped a second time his would-be assassins. As few people knew Dimitry personally, the story gained credence, and many accepted the second impostor. Marina, the Polish wife of the first Dimitry, acknowledged this second pretender as her husband. The Southern Army moved against Moscow, and Shuisky's position was growing less and less tenable each day.

In addition to peasants and Cossacks, the new Pretender was also supported by the small landowners who were antagonistic to the rule of the great estate owners and merchants. However, when the peasants began to confiscate the estates of all owners their loyalty to Dimitry began to waver. Shuisky conceived the plan of detaching them from the popular movement by granting them new estates.

The mass of the peasants which remained inert during the risings of the first Dimitry, rose now against Shuisky. Their leader was a runaway serf, a courageous and enterprising man, named Bolotnikov, who was once captured by the Tartars, but managed to make good his escape abroad. He encouraged the peasants to overthrow the landlords and seize the land.

A serious breach thus occurred between the landed and peasant sections of the movement.

At a critical moment, when the rebel army was approaching Moscow, Shuisky offered the small landowners new estates and the right to nominate their representatives to the Boyar Council, as a bribe.

The defection of the landowners seriously crippled the popular movement. Without their assistance the Cossacks were unable to withstand Shuisky's armies. Bolotnikov was defeated and he escaped to Tula. There he was surrounded, taken captive and executed, while

the Cossacks returned to their borderland. But not for long. They soon recovered from their defeat and with the help of Polish troops again invaded Russian territory, partly to avenge their fallen comrades and partly for plunder.

This time the Cossacks approached the very gates of Moscow and established their headquarters at Tushino, some ten miles from the city. There the false Dimitry took up residence and formed his Court on similar lines to the Moscow Court. Tushino became a second capital, and Shuisky was powerless to expel the Cossacks and their Polish allies.

Gradually even boyars began to abandon Shuisky and join the Pretender. Many of them did not disdain to accept service under the false Dimitry. Among these was one of the oldest boyars, Feodor Romanov, a near relative of the extinct Moscow dynasty. Godunov had banished him to a monastery, where he took the tonsure under the name of Philarete. The first Dimitry appointed him Metropolitan of Rostov. The second Dimitry made him Patriarch. As there were two Tsars ruling simultaneously, it was only natural that there should be two Patriarchs.

This state of affairs with two Tsars ruling at the same time only a few miles from each other lasted for about two years. One of them, the Cossack and peasant Tsar, who ruled from Tushino, was called by Shuisky's supporters "the Thief of Tushino." However, in his own domain he was a ruler like any other. The second Tsar, the nominee of the boyars and merchants, held sway in Moscow.

Naturally all parties suffered from this state of affairs, but Shuisky's adherents had the worst of it. Civil war made trade difficult. Caravans with goods could sometimes not leave for long periods. Another difficulty was that the disorders were gradually

spreading from the villages to the towns. The common people in the towns, whose position was not much better than that of the peasantry, began to make common cause with the villagers, and join Dimitry. In Pskov, for instance, the small traders and artisans, together with the Streltsy and Cossacks, openly rebelled, took control of the town and inaugurated what can be described as a democratic republic. Most of the rich merchants were arrested and some even executed.

### THE TIME OF TROUBLES.

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THESE developments frightened the merchants, who realised the dangers of the civil war which was threatening their very existence. Their first thought was to obtain foreign assistance for the establishment of order. Beyond the walls of Moscow there were already gathered Polish armed units to assist Dimitry and the Cossacks, but mainly bent on plunder. They therefore conceived the idea of asking the aid of the Polish Government against Dimitry.

Also the Muscovite boyars were dissatisfied with Shuisky, who had proved incapable of suppressing the rebellion. On the other hand, the boyars who had joined Dimitry soon realised the impossibility of converting him into a boyar tsar. They felt themselves, more or less, like hostages in an enemy camp. The discontented in both camps soon found common ground for action and conspired together. A double plot was hatched. It was decided that Moscow should depose Shuisky and Tushino should depose Dimitry, and that on the Russian throne should be put the Polish Prince Vladislas who would come with Polish troops to establish order.

A delegation went to Poland and concluded a secret agreement with Vladislas' father, King Sigismund.

This document is of interest as it is the first one available in writing to limit the power and authority of the Moscow ruler. The Tsar was to rule together with a boyar council. On extraordinary occasions he was also to summon the representatives of the landowners and merchants from the whole country to pass laws. The ruler should have no right to issue decrees without the consent of the boyar council or the popular assembly (Zemsky Sobor). All the administration was to be concentrated in the hands of the boyar council.

The rights of the peasants were not safeguarded in any way. On the contrary the new ruler had to promise to enforce the laws against runaway serfs. Peasants were also forbidden to cross the frontiers into Poland and back.

It is of interest to note that Shuisky too had to promise on his election not to deprive the nobles of their estates. He also undertook not to carry out executions except in accordance with the law, nor to deprive merchants of their goods and capital.

In accordance with the agreement with Vladislas, Shuisky was deposed and forced to enter a monastery, while Dimitry was chased from Tushino with the help of the Poles. Moscow again became the sole capital and Russia a united country, although order was by no means re-established.

Sigismund was in no way interested in establishing order in Russia. He was merely carrying out the imperialistic policy of the Polish merchants and landowners who were aspiring to expand their territory at Russia's cost. They had endeavoured to use the first Dimitry for this purpose and now regarded their position as even more favourable for gaining their objective. On the Moscow throne was now a Pole and they began to plan the incorporation of Russia as they

had succeeded in absorbing Lithuania some sixty years earlier. Not even awaiting the arrival of the Polish Tsar in Moscow, his father, Sigismund, began to distribute Russian land to Polish nobles on the flimsy excuse that its present owners were against the newly elected Tsar, and often without even this excuse. Moscow landowners were astonished and dismayed to learn one fine day that their estates were no longer theirs, but that the ruler of Warsaw had allocated them to some Pole.

These practices, naturally enough, raised the fear and antagonism of the landowning classes. The merchants also soon realised that such a union with Poland would result in Polish merchants settling in Moscow and thus deprive them of the monopoly which they had exercised till then. The result was that the people who had invited Vladislas to become Tsar in Russia suddenly discovered that he was a Pole and not a Russian, a Catholic and not an Orthodox Christian, and they started a campaign against him.

Those who had invited Vladislas were also disappointed in that their chief objective, the enforcing of order in the country, was not being carried out by their nominee. On the contrary, the internal strife even intensified and was widened. The Poles were strong enough to occupy Moscow, but they lacked the necessary resources for putting down a popular rising even if they had wanted to. The plotters had also miscalculated when they assumed that Tushino relied on the Poles for its strength. When the Polish Army abandoned Dimitry on the order of its Government, this did not lead to an end of the impostor's sway. Dimitry merely retired further away from Moscow, but he remained at the head of an army of Cossacks sufficiently strong to inspire fear in the landowners and merchants. Even after Dimitry was murdered

in Kaluga in 1610 the Cossack movement did not come to an end, for the Cossacks continued to support the candidature of Dmitry's son for the Moscow throne.

A rich merchant of Nizhni-Novgorod (now Gorky) Kuzma Minin, conceived a plan for ridding the country of the turbulent elements. He began to enrol a volunteer army for the liberation of Moscow from the Poles and Catholics who were in possession of the capital. The rank and file were promised higher pay than that formerly given to officers of the guards. This, as well as the patriotic motive of the campaign, attracted a large number of men who flocked to the colours. It also attracted many of the well-to-do Cossacks who had now changed their allegiance.

Gradually nearly the whole staff of Tushino joined the new army which was put under the command of Prince Pozharsky. Deprived of their leaders, the minority of the Cossacks, who had remained faithful to Dmitry were defeated in battle and pursued up to the Volga region. Pozharsky's army, with the help of Cossacks who had joined them, had no difficulty in driving out the Poles, and Vladislas was deposed. This deposition, like the election, was a purely nominal affair. The Tsar had never set foot in Moscow, being still a minor.

Moscow celebrated the victory over what was regarded as an attempted foreign domination and the imposition of Catholicism with great rejoicings. Minin and Pozharsky, who were largely instrumental in bringing about this liberation are generally held in Russia to be great national leaders.

### RISE OF THE ROMANOVS.

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IN their search for a new Tsar the patriots were nevertheless inclined to consider the merits of a foreign

prince. Pozharsky himself was in favour of inviting a Swedish prince to become Tsar of Russia. But on this occasion the Cossacks and small landowners were able to impose their will. The candidate whom they favoured was the Patriarch Philaret, who had joined Dmitry and was afterwards one of the delegates who negotiated with Sigismund. As a monk he could not be elected to the throne, but he had a sixteen year old son, Michael, who although dull and unpromising, was popular with the Cossacks because of the merits of his father. Realising the futility of opposing the popular will, Pozharsky and his associates accepted the nominee of the Cossacks and the small landowners and Michael Romanov was elected Tsar in 1613. A National Assembly from the whole country was called to confirm the election. Thus was established in Russia the Romanov dynasty.

As the small landowners and the Cossacks had betrayed the popular movement by joining the other side, so they were now betrayed by their nominee. In recognition of their support they had expected some favours from the Tsar, but they were soon undeceived on this score. The rich merchants were quickly the most favoured group under the Romanovs. They were entrusted with control over the whole finance of the country and to them were farmed out the collection of taxes and other advantageous business of the state.

Another class that prospered under the Romanovs was the large landowners. The Romanovs even made successful attempts to restore the big estates, the break-up of which had started under Ivan the Terrible. The Tsar's family and relatives began to accumulate large properties, and shortly afterwards all those who were friendly or served the family were endowed with estates. Instead of the old boyars of princely descent and of the old feudal lords who were largely ruined

and eliminated in the preceding half century, a new aristocracy, of spurious lineage and questionable nobility, began to emerge. These new lords, owning often tens of thousands of serfs, soon assumed the position and acted the part of great nobles.

At first the merchants and landowners, who remembered their past experience, kept watch over the Tsar. At that time the National Assembly, in which the merchants and landowners had a majority, sat permanently. Even afterwards the Assembly used to meet very often. With time, however, the ruling dynasty won the confidence of these groups. This confidence was especially enhanced after the return from abroad of the Tsar's father, the Patriarch Philaret, one of the best educated, but also one of the most dexterous and cunning politicians of the time. The position of the Tsar was so firmly established that when he died in 1645, his son Alexey was elected to the throne without any opposition.

The Romanov family not only faithfully served the rich merchants, but ventured itself into trade. Even Ivan the Terrible used to finance Russian merchants on their journeys abroad. His son Feodor was actually a shareholder in the English company trading in Moscow. Under the Romanovs further progress was made in this direction and the big merchants acted often merely as the agents of the Tsar. The ruler traded in expensive Siberian furs, which were at the time highly valued in Western Europe, and in silks which he imported from Persia for resale to his affluent subjects.

The administration directed its attention towards securing order in the country. In this the Government attained a considerable measure of success. The various Cossack bands who operated in the country were rounded up and destroyed. Zarutsky, the most

able of the Cossack leaders who had supported Dimitry, was taken prisoner and executed, Marina, who had escaped to Zarutsky, was imprisoned and her infant son hanged.

A special police force and secret service department were formed for the maintenance of order, and great care was taken to instil in the population proper respect for the new dynasty.

The reorganisation of the Army was also undertaken. The new rulers realised the necessity of maintaining a reliable army. The armed forces of the former Tsars were made up of their vassals and of a hired infantry, the Streltzy, recruited from the low class town population. But this force had proved unreliable. During the troubled times the Streltzy had several times changed sides. Now they had joined Dimitry in Tushino, now they were fighting for Shuisky against Dimitry. The Romanovs decided to rely more and more on hired foreign troops. At the time of Godunov, when practically the whole of his army deserted to the Pretender, his German mercenaries alone remained faithful to the end. Godunov, however, had had too few of these soldiers to be able to win a decisive victory. The first Romanovs began to hire large numbers of these foreign mercenaries. The Thirty Years War raged on the Continent, and many men had taken up a military career. Of these men the Tsars commenced to form their battalions.

The Russian Government, however, soon discovered the disadvantages of an army consisting of foreign mercenaries. Its maintenance was expensive, as the soldiers had to be well paid. Another disadvantage was its undependability. An army that serves for money alone may at any time transfer its allegiance to the side that will offer the highest pay.

The foreign army was therefore soon being supplemented by levies from the local population. The new recruits differed in an essential respect from the old. The latter were called up for service from time to time, and then after the expiration of their term of service returned again to their civil life and occupation; the former became soldiers for life. They broke with their family, civilian existence and old associations. From now onwards the barracks became their home where all their interests were centred.

This new Army was imbued with the one idea of Service to the Tsar. Under the command of German or German-trained Russian officers, an army was soon fashioned which was infinitely superior in its training, discipline and armaments to any Russia had ever known before. This army secured the Tsar against his internal enemies and encouraged a more aggressive foreign policy.

In his early wars, though, the first Romanov was unsuccessful. Sweden attempted to annex Northern Russia and Gustavus Adolphus actually besieged Pskov. The siege was raised, but the treaty concluded at Stolbovo in 1617 conceded to the Swedes Ingermanland and 20,000 roubles, although they renounced their claim to Novgorod. For Russia this was a serious defeat for she was now excluded from the Baltic.

Russia, however, had secured a breathing space and could concentrate against the Poles who had advanced up to Moscow. Here, too, the Tsar was compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace treaty by which Smolensk, Chernigov and other districts remained in Polish occupation. Among the prisoners of war who were repatriated to Russia as a result of the Treaty of Deulino was the Tsar's father, the Patriarch Philaret.

On his return the Patriarch assisted his son in the administration of the country. He helped to establish order in the administration itself, and to stabilise the finances of the land. Philaret also encouraged the maintenance of relations with other countries and the fostering of foreign trade. Ambassadorial relations were established with France, while close connections existed with England. James I. actually aided Russia in her wars.

In spite of the Treaty of Deulino the relations with Poland were far from being stabilised. When Sigismund IV. died in 1632 Michael used this opportunity to send an army to besiege Smolensk. But they were forced to capitulate and the Poles advanced towards Moscow.

Michael had to sue for peace and a new treaty was concluded at Polyanovka in 1634 which was mainly on the lines of the Deulino Treaty. The Poles retained Smolensk, but Vladislav abandoned his claim to the Russian throne.

The results of the creation of a modernised army became apparent first of all within the sphere of domestic policy. The advent of the Romanov family was marked by a considerable worsening of the position of the peasants. Under the preceding rulers they were not uniformly illtreated. The tightening of the grip on the peasants in one district was usually followed by slackening of the hold in the next. Serfdom had previously never been extended to the entire country. There were always areas to which a serf could escape and where the owner was powerless to wreak his vengeance on him for running away. But by the middle of the seventeenth century serfdom had become uniform throughout the whole land except in Northern Russia where agriculture was only a subsidiary branch of the economy, in which landowners

were not interested.

If the landowner contracted debts his peasants had to redeem his obligations. If they failed to do it they were beaten daily with sticks until the debt had been paid in full. Previously this law applied only to slaves, but under the Romanovs the whole peasantry was reduced to the position of slaves.

Nor did the position of the townspeople improve under the new dynasty. The maintenance of a modernised army and of the civil administration involved a large expenditure and the imposition of heavy taxation. The position of the poor deteriorated considerably and there was great discontent.

### **ALEXIS "THE QUIET."**

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MICHAEL'S only son, Alexis, succeeded his father in his sixteenth year. He was weak in body and timid in spirit, hence his nickname "the Quiet." His reign was, however, far from peaceful.

The boyars who had acquired enormous power and influence under the Romanovs exacted large profits from their privileged position. They had taken over the administration of justice and ran it for their own benefit. Innocent people were accused and guilty acquitted for the payment of a bribe. In the law courts iniquity and corruption reigned supreme. At last the people rose in revolt against the administration and the National Assembly (Zemsky Sobor) had to be called. The Assembly framed new laws which are known as "The Code of the National Assembly." This code was circulated throughout the country, so that the people could know the laws under which they lived. There was also considerable popular opposition to the crushing burden of taxation. When Alexis imposed, on the model of Western Europe, a Salt Tax as well,

riots broke out in many parts. These riots were, however, suppressed by the newly organised armed forces.

In a similar manner was put down the riot caused by the same ruler's attempt to issue a debased currency, the so-called "copper roubles." It was the practice at the time to debase the silver coinage by an alloy admixture of copper. The administration had the idea of coining roubles entirely of copper. When this money was forced on the public by the Government, it led to a devaluation of currency and consequent rise in the prices of all commodities, causing great hardship. The exasperated population rose in protest against this measure, but the Government again proved strong enough to suppress the movement.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the new autocracy had acquired a fresh and powerful ally—the Church. This was achieved by gradually turning the Church into a branch of the administration.

The Church itself underwent a serious transformation under the Romanovs, emerging as an important commercial concern. The monasteries in particular became large trading centres. The generous gifts of the faithful provided a vast accumulation of resources. As the donations were often made in kind the monasteries collected large quantities of goods for sale and they became important traders. Owing to the unsettled conditions in the country many also deposited their savings with the monasteries. This enabled them to act as a kind of bank and finance big commercial undertakings and transactions. The Church also advanced loans at a high rate of interest, which was of course the rate ruling at the time. Donations of land also made the Church one of the chief landowners in the country.

It is of interest to note that the first owner of serfs

in Russia was a monastery. The Trinity Monastery was the first to obtain from the Government the right to prevent peasants from leaving the land in search of employment elsewhere. After the Time of Troubles, the same monastery also obtained from the Government permission to compel peasants to return if they had left within the preceding eleven years.

The Patriarch had acquired great influence under the first Romanov. As father of the colourless Tsar, he helped to rule the country and he imposed his will upon the administration. At the same time the Church began to regard itself as part of the administration.

During the reign of Alexis, when the Patriarch Nikon, who was the Tsar's uncle, dared to stand up for the independence of the Church, the Tsar summoned a Church Council which deposed Nikon who had to retire to a monastery.

In Alexis' time a great controversy occurred which shook the country to its foundations. Patriarch Nikon, who was a man of great erudition and energy, undertook the revision of the church writings. The books had been brought from Greece and translated into Slavonic. As it was before the invention of printing, the books were copied by hand and many errors frequently crept in. Nikon therefore ordered a complete revision of the whole literature. This revision was carried out by a commission. When the revised books were distributed many refused to accept them. A schism arose which is known as the "Raskol," and its adherents were known as "Raskolniky" or Old Believers, because they remained true to the old ritual.

The Government later began to persecute the dissenters. Their priests were arrested and executed and large numbers of people were banished. But as is usual in such cases the Government was powerless to eradicate the belief of the people by these methods

and the Old Believers maintained their hold upon them for centuries.

### STEPAN RAZIN

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THE most serious opposition which the Government had to face, however, was that of the Cossacks. After the election of the first Romanov the Cossacks withdrew largely to their own lands and made no further attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. They maintained, however, their freedom, and the Tsar was not yet strong enough to deprive of their independence these people who were living in a kind of No Man's Land.

The Government did, though, try to win over the Cossacks by bribes. They also encouraged them to attack the neighbouring Tartars and Turks so as to keep them busy.

During the seventeenth century the main attention of the Cossacks was directed towards raids and plunder. The area of their activity was confined chiefly to the Black and Azov Seas. When the Don Cossacks succeeded towards the end of Michael's reign in capturing the fortress of Azov and they appealed to Moscow for support, Moscow refused it. At the time they did not require Azov, they merely wanted to keep the Cossacks occupied somewhere. Without Russian help the Cossacks were unable to hold the fortress and it was recaptured by the Turks, who fortified the town in such a manner that it became practically impregnable.

When the exactions of the landowners became almost unbearable, a wholesale desertion of serfs began. Large numbers escaped from their bondage to the Don and swayed the forces of the Cossacks. As Cossack expansion towards the south was now barred by the

Turks and Tartars, they endeavoured to expand in the south-east in the area of the Lower Volga and the Caspian Sea. This attempt, however, brought them in direct conflict with Moscow.

The Cossacks began with raids on Russian and Persian settlements and caravans, and the Government was compelled to meet this challenge. Under the leadership of the Russian Robin Hood, Stenka or Stepan Razin, the Cossacks actually captured Astrakhan and Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad) and Razin exercised his sway from Nizhni-Novgorod to the Caspian Sea. Emboldened by his success and the support he received everywhere from the peasants, he moved north in the direction of Moscow. But near Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) the Cossacks were met by the Tsar's new army and completely routed. Razin was captured and brought to Moscow for execution. The rebellion was quelled with an iron hand and for a whole century the Tsar's authority was never challenged again in open strife.

#### **ANNEXATION OF THE UKRAINE.**

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After crushing the internal enemy the Government could devote its attention to foreign expansion. This policy was first of all directed against Poland and Lithuania, the development of which countries proceeded on lines not dissimilar to those of Russia. There too the position of the peasants was practically reduced to serfdom. This applied particularly to the recently colonised area on the Lower Dnieper—that is in the Kiev, Volynia and neighbouring provinces. Beyond the rapids of the Dnieper was situated a Cossack stronghold the population of which consisted of runaway serfs. Although the Polish government had at its disposal a good army and an efficient police force,

the opposition to it was better organised than the one against which the Tsar had to contend. The peasants and Cossacks of Eastern Russia were ignorant and illiterate. On the other hand the peasants and Cossacks of the Ukraine had their intellectuals recruited from the town population of Kiev, Lvov, Zhitomir and other cities in which the small traders were as much oppressed by the rich Polish merchants as their counterparts in Russia by theirs.

In early times the Zaporozhye Cossacks were governed by their hetmen and Veche (Popular Assembly) but were free of interference by the Polish Government. They could settle upon vacant land, engage in hunting and fishing, and accept settlers who wished to join them. Later the Poles began to introduce various restrictions. The number of Cossacks had to be reduced to a few thousands, while the rest of the people who had joined them were compelled to settle on land belonging to Polish landlords as peasants.

When these restrictions were first introduced they caused a rebellion which was, however, suppressed. In 1648 the Ukraine rose again, this time under the Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitzky. He had suffered a personal injury from a Polish noble, but could obtain no redress in Warsaw. A fierce and implacable enemy, he joined his forces with the Crimean Tartars to wage a holy war against Poland. At Zborova the Polish armies were surrounded by the combined enemies. The Tartars, however, deserted the Hetman and the latter was forced to sign a truce. The Cossacks soon broke this, and the war was resumed. Khmelnitzky was defeated at Berestechko and he again concluded peace with the obvious intention of breaking his word at the first opportunity. Despairing of winning the war unaided, the Hetman appealed to the Tsar to take the Ukraine under his protection. This offer was

accepted by Moscow and the Cossacks swore allegiance to the Tsar. All the Hetman's stipulations were agreed to by Moscow. The Hetman could receive foreign ambassadors, except those of Poland and Turkey. In the war that ensued, Smolensk was reconquered by the Russian army which had also invaded Lithuania. The war terminated with the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667, by which Russia recovered Chernigov, Smolensk and the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper with Kiev, but withdrew from Lithuania.

Moscow had thus secured, in addition to the Volga, the trade route of the Dnieper with the countries of the Black Sea. But a long time was to elapse before Moscow could either make use of this route or enter upon a struggle for the Black Sea. Moscow's immediate aim at the time was to open the road towards Western Europe. The Baltic and not the Black Sea was their objective, and upon this striving for the Baltic the attention of the Government was concentrated. It resulted in the Great Northern War of 1700-1721, and in this combat the new army proved its value to the Moscow state.

Alexis, who married twice, left two sons, Feodor and Ivan, and a daughter Sophia from his first marriage with Maria Miloslavskaya, and a son Peter from his second marriage to Natalia Naryshkina. On Alexis' death in 1676, he was succeeded by his eldest son Feodor who, however, died six years later after an uneventful reign. One incident of note during his reign was the abolition of the Table of Ranks, which had long been an anachronism and a nuisance. According to the Table of Ranks no noble could occupy a position inferior to that attained to by his father. The burning of the Russian Debrett, the book which contained the record of all the ranks and honours held by nobles, had therefore rendered a service to the

country. Feodor also decreed that anyone who in future should dispute an appointment, by invoking the old law, should be deprived of his rank.

## QUARRELS OVER THE SUCCESSION.

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After Feodor's death in 1682 trouble arose over the succession. There were two parties at the Court and each favoured its own nominee. Although the second son of Alexis, Ivan, was the rightful heir, he was "weak in body and mind" and his younger brother Peter was proclaimed Tsar by the Patriarch and the boyars, while his mother was to be Regent during his minority. The realisation of this project was, however, spoiled by the intervention of a remarkable woman. This was Sophia, Peter's half sister.

A rumour was spread by her supporters that the Naryshkins had disposed of the rightful Tsar, Ivan, and a revolt broke out in May, 1682, which lasted three days. The chief part in this revolt was played by the Streltzy whose real grievance was the establishment of the new army. During this rising many boyars and members of the Naryshkin family were killed. It ended with the success of Sophia. Both Princes Ivan and Peter were appointed Tsars jointly and Sophia was made Regent.

Sophia, who was well educated, clever and an outstanding personality, was not content to be only a nominal regent but actually ruled the country. In this she was helped by three men of singular ability: Khovansky, who was appointed the Commander of the Streltzy, Miloslavsky and Golitzin. The last named in particular was a man of great culture.

A fresh revolt of the Streltzy was quickly suppressed but cost Khovansky his life. Sophia had joined the Alliance of Austria, Poland and Venice against the

Turks in the hope of conquering the Crimea. Russia attacked there and conducted two campaigns, in 1687 and 1689, but both ended in failure.

Meanwhile Peter was growing up and he was busily engaged in learning all the things that especially interested him. For the most part he had chosen foreigners who had settled in Moscow as his tutors. Peter also liked to drill and he surrounded himself with youths whom he exercised with the aid of foreign officers. He called them Boy Scouts (Poteschniye). These formed afterwards the nucleus of the two guard regiments, the Preobrazhensky and Semenovsky, named after the two villages in which Peter drilled his scouts.

Sophia, who began to sign herself Tsaritsa of all the Russias, watched Peter's growth with uneasiness. Seeing that the time was approaching when she would have to surrender her power to him, she decided to act. The Streltsy who had put her in power were then under the command of her favourite, Shaklovity, and were to stage another rising. The plan of the rising also included the assassination of Peter. The latter, who had married Eudokia Lopukina before he was seventeen, fled with his wife and mother to the Trinity Monastery, and ordered the Streltsy to join him. But Sophia forbade them to carry out the order. Patrick Gordon, who had taken up service in Russia and attained the rank of general by this time, joined Peter, and his example was followed by other officers. At the head of his troops Peter entered Moscow. The Streltsy were disarmed, Shaklovity executed and Sophia banished to the Novodevichy Nunnery just outside Moscow. Golitzin and his son were also banished. Thus was crushed the Court opposition against him and Peter became the sole ruler of Russia, although the name of Ivan continued to figure on all State documents until his death in 1696.

## PETER THE GREAT.

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Peter I surrounded himself with men of his own choice. His circle of friends and advisers included Patrick Gordon, the Swiss Lefort and other foreigners. The young Tsar concentrated his attention on preparations for the coming conflict and at first showed more interest in the creation of an Army and Navy than in the State Administration. Shipbuilders were brought from Holland and the Tsar himself assisted them in the construction of vessels.

Meanwhile the war against the Turks was still dragging on, and Peter decided to obtain a decision in the south. In 1695 he besieged Azov. His first campaign was, however, a failure, but he took the town in the following year, and returned to Moscow in triumph.

In 1697 the Tsar set out on his European travels. He had long wanted to see Europe, particularly Holland, for which country he had a deep respect and liking. For a Tsar to travel abroad was an unheard-of innovation. The die-hards at Court opposed it, fearing that the Tsar might bring back some outlandish customs and manners. Peter was, however, not to be deterred by such considerations and he left with his mission. At the head of it was Lefort, while Peter himself travelled as a private nobleman. This he did in order to avoid ceremonies and receptions and to be able to observe the things he wanted to see without hindrance. Before leaving, Peter entrusted the Government to a council of Boyars.

The mission travelled to Riga, Koenigsberg and Hanover but did not stay long in any of these places, as Peter was anxious to reach Holland as soon as possible. In Holland he studied shipbuilding and many other crafts. He also visited factories, labora-

tories and trading establishments, and showed a keen interest in everything relating to commerce, industry and particularly to shipbuilding.

From Holland he proceeded to England, where he stayed for three months at Deptford learning the shipwright's trade. He was several times at Court, where he had conversations with the King. He also visited the Archbishop, the Houses of Parliament in session and Oxford to see the University, and he paid several visits to the City of London. Before his departure King William gave him permission to take into his service any Englishmen he desired to. Thereupon he engaged a number of them, including a Captain Perry who has left an interesting book, "The State of Russia."

On his homeward journey he revisited Holland and went to Vienna, intending to proceed from there to Venice, when news reached him that another revolt of the Streltsy had broken out. Peter returned immediately to Moscow and crushed the revolt. Many of the ringleaders were executed and others sent to Siberia. A few years later he disbanded the Streltsy altogether.

Peter's main preoccupation, however, was the coming struggle for the Baltic, for he realised that from the outcome of this encounter depended the very existence of the Russian State. He had been preparing for a long time for this struggle and for the purpose he had concluded an alliance with Poland and Denmark, two other of Sweden's rivals for the control of the Baltic Sea.

Although Russia was preparing for the contest long and methodically she was not quite ready when the decisive moment came. Sweden was at that time one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, military force in Europe. She had fought in the Thirty Years'

War, in which she had assumed first place. Her army was the best equipped and best disciplined in Europe. While preparing for the conflict, Russia had secured the latest military invention of the time. The bayonet fixed upon a rifle had just been invented and the Russian Army was equipped with it before the Swedes could adopt it. With this new weapon the same troops could be employed both for firing and for hand-to-hand encounters instead of maintaining different contingents as was previously the case.

In spite of this initial advantage, the young Russian army, when it met the well-trained and disciplined Swedish veterans in battle in 1700 at Narva, was almost totally annihilated. The Moscow State was on the very brink of destruction. Russia was only saved by a mistake on the part of the Swedish command. Instead of pursuing and completing the destruction of its enemy in the east, the Swedish army turned to the west against the Danes, Poles and the Saxons. Moscow was thus given a few years for the training of fresh armies. When the Swedes realised their mistake and turned again to the east it was too late. Moscow was by that time firmly entrenched on the shores of the Finnish Gulf while the Swedish army had to fight its way from the Vistula through Moscow's southern frontiers. Although the Swedes succeeded in gaining an ally in Mazeppa, the leader of the Ukrainians—who were disillusioned with Moscow—this did not save the situation for them. In the battle of Poltava, fought in 1709, the Swedish army was just as soundly beaten as had been the Russians nine years earlier at Narva. Charles of Sweden himself, Mazeppa and a few hundreds of their troops managed to make good their escape to Turkey. In the struggles that were proceeding in the interval between Narva and Poltava the Russian generals had succeeded in gaining a foothold

on the Baltic coast. General Sheremetev took the eastern part of Livonia and Peter himself took Ingria and the Swedish fortress Noteburg, which he renamed Schluesselburg. On one of the islands near the mouth of the Neva, Peter also started building a new city in 1703, St. Petersburg, to which he transferred his capital after the decisive battle of Poltava.

The struggle, however, was not over yet and the war against Sweden continued for some twelve years after this battle. The Swedes even succeeded in gaining some allies, especially Turkey, which saw itself menaced by Russian penetration southwards. In the battle of the River Pruth, in Rumania (the so-called Pruth campaign of 1711) the Turks nearly destroyed Peter and his armies, and the Tsar had to make concessions to Turkey including the surrender of Azov. But in spite of these setbacks, the final result of the struggle shaped itself more and more in favour of Russia. The death of Charles XII in 1718 removed Peter's most resourceful and formidable opponent. Although the Swedish Diet continued the war for some time it was soon made clear that they desired peace. In the Peace of Nystad, which was concluded in 1721, Sweden had to admit its defeat, and Moscow emerged as one of the great powers in Europe. By this peace Russia acquired Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Carelia and part of Finland, which was at that time incorporated in Sweden. Peter adopted then the title of "Emperor of All the Russias." Russia had achieved her objective. The northern end of the great water route connecting Europe with Asia—the Baltic Sea—was now in Russian hands. The Russian Empire possessed not only the mouth of the Neva with St. Petersburg and Kronstadt, but also Riga, Reval and Vyborg.

To complete the project it was now only necessary to secure the southern extremity of the route. Until

that time Russia was in control of the territory only up to Astrakhan. Peter's last campaign was directed against Persia for the acquisition of the Caspian. This campaign was less successful than that for the Baltic. Nevertheless, by the peace of 1723, Russia had acquired several districts on the Caspian as well as the right of transit to trade in Asiatic goods, particularly in silk.

Now that the traders had become the most powerful party in the state, the continuation of the boyar council was an anachronism and was abolished by Peter. Instead of a council of men of aristocratic birth and descent the Tsar had established a Senate the members of which were recruited from the higher bureaucracy. The Senate was split into sections each with a specific function, such as trade, industry, mining, law, state control and similar sections.

Peter announced innovations in every sphere of life. He forced his courtiers to shave, and imposed a tax on beards. His sartorial reforms included the prohibition of wearing the long Russian caftan, which had to be replaced by short European dress. State officials were divided into fourteen ranks, corresponding to the army ranks. Those who reached the higher ranks in the services also became hereditary nobles. Service to the Tsar thus became the greatest distinction for a subject.

The financial system of the country was modernised and new taxes introduced for the maintenance of the armed forces and the officials.

An educational system was inaugurated. Schools, colleges, libraries and museums were opened, and the Academy of Science organised. Foreign scientists and artists were encouraged to visit and settle in Russia, and foreign trade fostered.

Peter also promoted the emancipation of women.

Under Tartar influence, women were segregated and kept in a special part of the house, the so-called "terem." Peter broke down this tradition and forced his nobles to bring their wives and daughters to his gatherings.

His reforms included also that of the calendar, and the introduction of the Russian alphabet in place of the Slavonic. In his reign the first newspaper made its appearance in Russia.

Peter's reforms were viewed with great distaste by many of the old boyars, the Church and the Patriarch. To have done with Church opposition he abolished the Patriarchate and established in its place the Holy Synod at the head of which he appointed a lay official with the title of Procurator of the Holy Synod. All opposition to his reforms were mercilessly crushed. His son and heir, Alexis, who had joined this opposition, was enticed from Germany back to Russia with a promise of forgiveness. However, as soon as he had crossed the frontier he was arrested, brought to St. Petersburg and tortured in the presence of his father. He was ultimately tried by a special tribunal and sentenced to death. He is believed to have died in a mysterious way, probably by poison, before the execution.

## CATHERINE I.

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IN 1721 Peter had issued a decree that the Tsar could in future appoint his successor. Nevertheless when he died in 1725, at the age of fifty-three, it was discovered that he had failed to do so. At the time there was a danger that the succession might involve the country in civil war. Court and country were divided into two parties. The reactionary party was in favour of Peter, the young son of the executed

Alexis. As the boy's mother, who was a German princess, was dead, he was in charge of his paternal grandmother, the divorced wife of Peter the Great, Eudokia Lopukine, who sided with the reactionaries.

Those who favoured the reforms and particularly Peter's closest collaborators, who were implicated with him in the trial of Alexis, had every reason to fear the consequences of a victory by the reactionaries. They favoured therefore, the placing of Peter's widow, Catherine, upon the throne. A German peasant girl, illiterate but intelligent, kindhearted and beautiful, she was brought to Russia and was a servant in the house of Peter's favourite, Menshikov, when the Tsar first saw her. He married her and in 1723 crowned her Empress of Russia. In addition to enjoying the support of Menshikov, the procurator of the Synod and other men in key positions, she also succeeded in winning to her side the Guard regiments, and she was proclaimed Empress.

During her reign Menshikov carried on the Government on Peter's lines while the State documents were signed by her daughter Elizabeth. Menshikov, the former pastry-cook, who once sold cakes in the streets of Moscow, was not a man of culture, but he was shrewd, energetic and competent. He grasped the significance of Peter's reforms and devoted himself to their realisation wholeheartedly. At the same time he was avaricious and covetous, and accumulated vast riches and made many enemies.

## PETER THE SECOND.

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BEFORE her death, which took place in 1727, Catherine had nominated Peter, "weak in body and feeble in mind," the son of Alexis, as her successor, and Menshikov was to be Regent during the Tsar's

minority. This decision was the result of a compromise between Menshikov and the nobles. Catherine also left instructions that the ruler should be betrothed to Mary, daughter of Menshikov. To remove Peter from outside influences, Menshikov brought the Tsar to his own palace and surrounded him with his trusted servants.

The party opposing Menshikov nevertheless succeeded in making the Tsar transfer his residence to the Summer Palace. Shortly afterwards, an order was issued for the arrest of Menshikov and his family, and they were exiled to his estate in Orenburg. The Regent was accompanied into exile by a large number of servants and followers. In Tver, however, another order reached him. The whole of his property was confiscated and he was to proceed with his family to Berezov, Northern Siberia. There Menshikov died in 1729, and his daughter Mary in the following year. His wife had died in Kazan, on the way to exile.

Peter was now betrothed to Catherine, the sister of his favourite, Ivan Dolgoruky. The Dolgorukys now rose to the exalted position once occupied by the Menshikovs. Their success was, however, short-lived. In 1730, Peter contracted a cold, whilst not yet fully recovered from an attack of small-pox, and died as a result. With his death, however, the reign of favourites did not come to an end.

Of the male members of the Romanov dynasty there was another feeble minded Peter alive, who later ascended the throne as Peter III. He was the son of Peter the Great's second daughter Anna, who had married the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

Ivan, the imbecile elder brother of Peter the Great, had also left two daughters, Catherine, Duchess of Mecklenburg, and Anna, widowed Duchess of Courland, who resided in Mittau, capital of Courland. The nobles

safe any more. Denunciation by a malicious person led to arrest and torture until the unfortunate victim confessed to the crimes which were imputed to him.

The foreign policy of this reign was equally venal. Russia was made to fight in wars in which she was neither interested nor profited. The provinces on the Caspian conquered by Peter had to be returned to Persia. In the four years war against Turkey, although the Russian army led by Lacey, an Irishman and Munich, a German had achieved fine victories, and occupied Perekop, Azov, Ochakov and Khotin, the country did not profit by them. In the Peace of Belgrade of 1739, Russia only received a strip of land between the Bug and the Dnieper, while Turkey acquired Serbia and Wallachia. Russia's participation in the War of Succession in Poland in 1733 was an equally futile enterprise.

Anna designated as her successor a baby born to her niece, Anna of Brunswick, while Biren was appointed Regent during the infancy of the Emperor. Biren's rudeness and tactless behaviour antagonised the parents of the young Emperor as well as Field-Marshal Munich. Not a month had passed after the death of his mistress than Biren was arrested during the night by Munich and a handful of soldiers, and banished to Siberia. The mother of the Emperor now assumed the Regency.

### **ELIZABETH'S COUP.**

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MUNICH, who had expected to take the reins of government into his own hands, was a disappointed man, and tendered his resignation, which to his surprise was accepted. The Regent was now under the influence of her lover Count Lynar, the Saxon Envoy, and was guided by his advice. The squabbles among the Cabinet ministers, the indolence and loose

living of the Regent, her quarrels with her husband, who openly taunted her with her affair with Lynar, the general disgust of the people with this German camarilla who had been running the Russian State in the interests of a few foreign adventurers, provided Elizabeth, Peter the Great's youngest daughter, with her chance. On the night of November 25th, accompanied by only three of her friends she went to the barracks of the Preobrazhensky Guard regiment and placed herself at the head of three hundred grenadiers. With fixed bayonets and grenades in their pockets they marched into the palace, occupied all the avenues to prevent flight, took the young Emperor and his sisters from their cradles and the Regent and her husband from their beds and sent them all to her home. All the Court favourites were also arrested. The infant Emperor was confined to the Schluessburg fortress, while his parents were banished to Kholmogory. Six of the leading supporters of this mis-rule were sentenced to death, but all the sentences were commuted to banishment for life as the prisoners mounted the scaffold. Elizabeth abolished capital punishment and no executions were carried out during her reign, although knouting and flogging were freely practised. She owed her success in some measure to the assistance of the French Ambassador, the Marquis de la Chétardie. Knowing Elizabeth's friendly feeling for France, he intrigued in her favour and thus helped to get her on the throne.

During her reign (1741-1761) Elizabeth pursued a national policy, continuing the era of reforms inaugurated by her father. German influence gave way to French. Young men were sent to France to study instead of to Germany. Although crude, semi-ignorant and superstitious Elizabeth, nevertheless, encouraged learning and the pursuit of literature.

During her reign, in 1755, the first Russian university was established in Moscow, and three years later the Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg. In her time, also, was opened the first Russian theatre, and a beginning was made of a national literature. At first the literary efforts consisted of translations and imitations, but it was a beginning which blossomed in the following century into some of the finest masterpieces of world literature. In her time the first Russian history was written, by Tatishev. She was also the contemporary of the first original Russian author and scientist, Lomonosov (1711-1763), the son of a poor fisherman from the Archangel province.

The chief events in Elizabeth's foreign policy were a war against Sweden and participation in the Seven Years' War on the side of France against Prussia. Sweden wanted to regain the part of Finland lost to her father, but the Russian armies were victorious and under the Treaty of Abo, 1743, the Swedes had to cede some additional territory to Russia.

Elizabeth was at first reluctant to enter the war against Prussia, but some disparaging remarks by Frederick about her person are said to have decided her to throw in Russia's lot with that of France and Austria. The Russian armies under Field-Marshal Apraxin entered Eastern Prussia and took Memel. But Apraxin was bribed by Frederick and instead of pursuing the defeated Prussians he suddenly made a diversion into Poland. Apraxin was removed from his post and arrested, Fermor was appointed in his place. The Russian army suffered, however, a serious reverse. But in 1759 Frederick was defeated at Kunersdorf and in the following year Russian troops entered Berlin. Frederick's position was critical, but at this moment Elizabeth died and Peter III, an admirer of Frederick, ascended the Russian throne.

## PETER III AND CATHERINE II.

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ELIZABETH wanted to secure the throne for her nephew, the son of her sister Anna of Holstein Gottorp. As he was a Lutheran and was being drilled in the Prussian fashion she brought him to St. Petersburg to learn Orthodoxy and Russian ways of life. He came and was married in 1744 to Princess Sophia of Anhalt Zerbst, who took the name of Catherine in the Greek Church. Although Peter was the most unpromising specimen for a future ruler of a great country, Elizabeth persevered in her determination to place him upon the throne. Weak-willed, practically half-witted, he had passed his time since the age of ten in heavy drinking, revelries and sottish amusements.

His wife Catherine was the exact opposite to him. Cultured, of strong character, intelligent and well-educated, she suffered intensely from her imbecile husband, who ill-treated her and made her the confidante of his amorous intrigues.

Peter III ascended the throne after Elizabeth's death but his reign was of short duration. He antagonised everyone at Court by his open aversion to everything Russian, while Catherine, on the other hand, ingratiated herself by her tact and respect for the country of her adoption.

However weak-willed Peter may have been, those advising him in the six short months of his reign were obviously men of considerable determination. The first act of the new reign was to reverse Elizabeth's foreign policy, and conclude an alliance with Prussia. The Russian troops who had been fighting Frederick now joined his forces. Preparations were also set afoot for a war against Denmark. Biren and Munich, banished under previous reigns, were brought back to St. Petersburg and were again accepted at Court.

The prison doors were opened wide and exiles brought back from Siberia. The persecution of the Old Believers, resumed under the bigoted Elizabeth, was stopped and an attempt made to confiscate for the benefit of the Crown church property and the lands belonging to the monasteries. This last measure, naturally, made the monarch unpopular with the clergy. The introduction of more drill and stricter discipline on the Prussian pattern made Peter unpopular also with the Guards. Another of his changes was the abolition of compulsory service of the nobility instituted by Peter the Great.

Catherine "cashed in" on the Emperor's unpopularity to usurp the Crown. Her chief assistants in the plot were the brothers Orlov and Princess Dashkov. On July 8, Catherine, who was living apart from her husband, went to the barracks and the Guards swore allegiance to her.

Although Peter was kept informed of this move he nevertheless failed to take any decisive measures to counteract it. In the evening of the same day, Catherine set out at the head of some 15,000 troops and artillery on the road to Peterhof to secure the person of the Emperor. But Peter offered no resistance, signed his abdication, and was taken into custody. He was detained in Peterhof, but a few days later strangled by Alexey Orlov, the brother of Catherine's favourite Grigory.

Catherine enjoyed a reign of thirty-four years—1762-1796. Many volumes have been written about this "Northern Semiramis," the brilliance of her Court, and the country's progress during her reign. There was a good deal in it that was dazzling and bright, but also numerous iniquities and tyrannies which greatly dimmed the lustre of the period.

However excellent her intentions may have been, the

majority of her subjects derived no benefit from her enlightenment and remained unaffected by her reforms. Only the courtiers and the upper strata profited from her manifold activities.

One of the first measures to be carried out by Catherine was the one planned by her husband—the confiscation of the land belonging to churches and monasteries. She also planned to introduce a new code of laws, and actually convoked an elective assembly from all parts of the Empire and representing all classes except the clergy and the serfs. She herself wrote the instructions to the deputies, based on the principles of Montesquieu and Beccaria. But her proposals to limit the power of the owners over the serfs met with opposition from a section of the delegates representing the nobles. And instead of persevering with her project she tamely capitulated to the opposition and actually increased their power over the serfs. She also distributed a number of Crown estates among her favourites, thus reducing to serfdom peasants who were living on Crown lands.

In 1775 was published the "Statute of Provinces," a useful piece of legislation. It introduced for the first time in Russia a separate system of financial and administrative offices, regular courts of justice and corporations of local gentry. The last named were to meet every three years to elect their marshals and discuss their affairs.

The reform was completed ten years later by the granting of two charters, in 1785; one to the "nobility" which attempted to perpetuate the power of the ruling class, and the second to the "burgesses," which laid down the foundation for municipal self-government. Catherine, however, did nothing to improve the lot of the most unfortunate of her subjects—the serfs. On the contrary, a decree was issued by

which they were forbidden to complain against their masters, and serfdom was introduced in the Ukraine, where up to that time the peasants were free.

The favouritism shown to the nobles and the tightening of the yoke on the neck of the peasants created considerable dissatisfaction among the serfs, who impatiently awaited emancipation. In 1773 a revolt broke out which seriously threatened the rule of the nobility. The Cossacks of the Urals rebelled under the leadership of Pugachev, who, following the example set by the two false Dimitrys, claimed to be Catherine's husband Peter III who had escaped the assassins.

Pugachev proclaimed his intention of freeing the people from oppression, and Cossacks, serfs, Old Believers, Bashkirs and other subjugated people flocked to his standard. Throughout the country the peasants were only waiting for his coming to rise. But Pugachev failed to make use of his opportunity. After the sacking of Kazan he suddenly returned to the Cossack country and his army dispersed. Pugachev, betrayed by his own friends, was taken prisoner, brought to Moscow, tried and beheaded.

Catherine was a prolific writer, but her share in these works is difficult to assess, because she invariably had a collaborator. Her works produced in the period of her association with Novikov are the most outstanding. She also maintained a regular correspondence with the celebrated men of her time, including Voltaire, Diderot, Montesquieu, d'Alembert, Grimm, as well as with the rulers of her day such as Maria Theresia, Frederick II and Joseph II. Her early ambition was to make her reign brilliant, and go down to history as the ideal of an enlightened ruler. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, however, she broke with her liberal past and began to persecute those who held the progressive views she had formerly shared. Her

erstwhile collaborator, the great educationalist and freemason, Novikov, was sent to the Schluesselburg fortress. Radishev, one of the enlightened men of the era, the author of "A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow," was sentenced to death as a Jacobin. The sentence was, however, commuted to ten years' exile in Siberia.

Catherine was determined to shine also in foreign policy. The industrialisation of Britain and the increase in population resulted in a growing demand for wheat, and Russian merchants and landowners were determined to satisfy this demand. They wanted Russia to become the granary of Europe. But wheat was produced mainly in the Ukraine and overland transport from the Ukraine to the Baltic seaports was difficult and expensive. Ports on the Black Sea were therefore regarded as a vital necessity. This in its turn necessitated a war against Turkey.

The plan was to drive out the Turks from Europe, take possession of the Black Sea coast, and establish small independent States in the Balkans. Catherine also aspired to take Constantinople and to place her second grandson Constantin on the throne of a new Greek state.

In this drive to the south Catherine had to wage two wars against Turkey, but she succeeded in realising only part of her project. Her success was helped by the discords between Prussia and Austria, who, jointly, might have blocked her way. In the first war against Turkey (1768-1774) she had Prussia as an ally and Austria as an antagonist. The war was victorious for Russia and by the Peace of Kuchuk-Kainardji, of 1774, Russia acquired Azov, Kerch and Kinburn. The Crimea was declared independent of Turkey, and this enabled Catherine to annex it nine years later. Russian merchant ships were also granted free access to the

Mediterranean. The important political gain from this war was that Russia also received the right to protect Turkish Christians. This enabled her subsequently to interfere in Turkish internal affairs whenever convenient.

In the second war against Turkey (1787-1791) Russia had Austria as an ally and Prussia as an antagonist. Suvorov, Repnin and Catherine's lover, Potemkin, carried off many brilliant victories. But during the peace negotiations Potemkin died and by the Peace of Jassy, Catherine had to content herself with the acquisition of Ochakov and the steppe between the Bug and the Dniester.

Catherine's plan as far as the west was concerned was to wrest from Poland the provinces inhabited by White Russians (Belo-Russians) and Ukrainians. Poland was in a perpetual state of weakness owing to the discontent of her Greek Orthodox population, who were subjected to various restrictions. The Polish constitution and eternal feuds among the nobles added to the general confusion. This provided opportunities for Poland's neighbours. On the death of King Augustus, a former lover of Catherine, Stanislaus Poniatovsky, was elected to the Polish throne. His was the tragic reign under which Poland was three times partitioned and erased from the list of independent states.

The first partition of Poland took place in 1772. This was proposed by Frederick of Prussia, who wanted to consolidate his territory and to compensate Russia for her war expenditure. Russia acquired White Russia (Belo-Russia), Gomel, Mohilev, Polotzk and Vitebsk. Prussia obtained Western Prussia, and Austria took Red Russia and Galicia.

Poland now made desperate efforts to reform the constitution and stabilise the government. By the

constitution of May, 1791, the kingdom was made hereditary and the power of its stormy Diet was somewhat curtailed. But the disgruntled again appealed to Catherine and she treated the constitutional changes in Poland as the work of Jacobin plotters. In 1793 a second partition of Poland took place in which Russia gained another slice of the country reaching as far as the centre of Lithuania and Volynia.

Polish patriots now took up arms and made a last desperate effort to save national independence. Under the leadership of their national hero Thaddeus Kosciuszko, they raised the standard of independence. But, abandoned by the nobles, Kosciuszko was defeated by General Suvorov, and taken prisoner wounded. Poland's independence was now extinguished for more than a century. The third partition of the country took place in 1795. Russia obtained Lithuania as far as the Niemen, and Volynia up to the Bug, Prussia took Warsaw and the eastern part of the country, while Austria's share in this deal was Cracow, Lublin and Sandomir. In the same year Catherine rounded off her Empire on the Baltic by the acquisition of Courland.

### **ELIMINATION OF PAUL I.**

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CATHERINE died of apoplexy in November, 1796, and her son and heir, the 44-year-old Paul, mounted the throne. His mother had always disliked and neglected him, and she had always feared that he might be placed upon the throne as the rightful heir to Peter III. Paul, on his side, hated his mother for having deprived him of his rights of succession on the death of his father. He was against her internal and external policy, and loathed the brilliance of her Court and her favourites. He cherished the memory of Peter

as his father, although from Catherine's memoirs this fact seems rather dubious. As soon as he succeeded to the throne Paul ordered the remains of his father to be disinterred. They were brought to St. Petersburg with great pomp, and buried at the side of his mother, in the Church of the Peter and Paul Fortress. Peter's assassins were made to follow the coffin, after which they were banished.

One of the first measures of his reign was to revoke Peter the Great's decree by which the Emperor could nominate his successor. Succession to the throne was now to be based on the principle of primogeniture. This law remained in force till 1917, when Tsardom was abolished. Paul was not popular with any section of the population because of his inconsistencies. He alleviated the lot of the serfs by reducing their obligatory work for the landlord to three days in the week, a measure which might have made him liked by the village people. But on the other hand he antagonised them by giving away peasants of the Crown to noble proprietors as serfs. These grants assumed even greater proportions than under Catherine, and averaged 120,000 a year. These generous gifts failed, however, to win for Paul the support of the nobles. His crude belief in the divine right of the Tsars made him impose upon his subjects Oriental obsequious customs which offended and antagonised them. The introduction of German uniforms and military routine made him also unpopular with the Army.

He liberated many State prisoners, including the Polish national hero Kosciuszko, but these acts were not ascribed to his generosity but to a mere desire to reverse all the acts of his mother.

Paul's ill-balanced mind inspired fear in all those who had to deal with him. Capricious bursts of anger alternated with clemency. Punishments succeeded

favours with astonishing rapidity. Although he proclaimed himself a man of peace and announced that Russia required rest after many years of constant warfare, Paul nevertheless joined the coalition of England, Austria and Turkey to fight against the French Revolution.

He recalled Suvorov, who was in disfavour, appointed him commander and ordered him to march into Italy. Suvorov's army achieved several victories and crossed the Alps by the St. Gothard and entered Switzerland. But a second Russian army, under General Korsakov, was defeated by Massena near Zurich. Suvorov was now compelled to retreat and lead his army back to Russia. Both Suvorov and Paul accused the Austrians of treachery in the Italian campaign.

Paul's indignation with the Austrians and admiration for Napoleon resulted in a change of policy. He concluded an alliance with France and formulated a plan to invade India and drive out the English. This coalition was, however, brought to an end by Paul's death. On the night of March 24th, 1801, a group of conspirators, which included Catherine's last favourite, Platon Zubov, and the Chief of Police, Pahlen, penetrated into the Emperor's bedroom and strangled him.

#### VACILLATIONS OF ALEXANDER I.

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ALEXANDER was Catherine's favourite grandson. She personally guided and supervised his education and even intended to appoint him her successor. The Swiss Republican Laharpe exercised a strong influence on him in his early years. His education, however, ceased just at the time when he might have begun to profit by it. At the age of sixteen he married and that was the end of his schooling. The result was that "the First Gentleman of Europe," as his admirers

called him, possessed rudimentary ideas about things but lacked definite knowledge. A man of certain ability, good looks and fine manners, these qualities seemed all the more outstanding because his parent had been so utterly devoid of them. Essentially a sentimentalist, he must have received many shocks at his contacts with the intrigues and insincerity of Court life under his grandmother. The harsh reign of his father, the iniquities and injustices of which he was expected to approve and share, must have proved a further trial of his sincerity. As a result he became a master of dissimulation, which some people have mistaken for weakness. Napoleon called him "actor."

The beginning of his reign was characterised by an attempt to pursue a liberal policy on constitutional lines, but as the years went by his liberalism evaporated and he came more and more under reactionary influences.

In the first years of his reign he established a private committee consisting of liberal minded young men, the friends of his youth. This committee was to help him carry out his reforms. He expressed his determination to do away with arbitrariness and establish the rule of law. He cancelled many of the reactionary measures introduced by his father, and established Ministries in place of the existing departments. Public education was stimulated, three new universities were founded, as well as some high schools for secondary education in the provinces.

The power of the landowners over their serfs in Livonia and Esthonia was limited and for the rest of the country noble landowners were permitted to liberate their serfs, granting them at the same time some plots of land. Out of several million serfs only 47,000 benefited by this decree. He was even in favour of liberating all serfs, and of limiting the power of the

autocracy, but his "private committee" strongly disapproved of these measures, regarding them as dangerous and untimely innovations.

Alexander's accession brought about also a change in foreign policy. One of his first acts was the conclusion of a treaty with England, although at first he tried to maintain also good relations with France. Shortly afterwards, however, he joined the coalition against her.

The Russian army under Kutusov was to join the Austrians at Ulm. But this fortress surrendered before the arrival of the Russian reinforcements. The campaign ended with the battle of Austerlitz, in which the coalition was soundly beaten. The Russians lost a considerable proportion of their army and many guns. Austria sued for peace and signed the treaty of Pressburg. Russia, however, in coalition with Prussia, continued the war.

Napoleon fell upon the Prussians at Jena and scattered them, after which he attacked the Russian army at Eylau. In spite of their fierce resistance the Russians were defeated and lost some 20,000 men.

Alexander sued for peace and the two Emperors met in June, 1807, on a raft on the Niemen and concluded a treaty. By this, the Treaty of Tilsit, Russia acquired Bielostok and the two countries were to assist each other in future wars. Alexander was to introduce into Russia the Continental system, i.e., to exclude English goods.

The Tilsit treaty was for a long time kept secret in Russia, the Tsar lacking the courage to reveal its shameful terms to the people.

Alexander's acceptance of the Continental system, which Napoleon imposed upon all vanquished nations, caused a great deal of irritation in the country when eventually it became known. Russia found herself

without the British goods to which the people were accustomed and the merchants expressed their dissatisfaction in no uncertain manner. The landowners, who had formerly exported their grain and flax to Britain, were equally aggrieved.

However, if the traders and landowners suffered under the Tilsit treaty, the industrialists, on the other hand, greatly benefited. Up to that time Russia obtained practically the whole of her supply of textiles from Britain. The cessation of imports acted as a great spur to home production. In the decade from 1804 to 1814 the number of people employed in the textile industry and the value of output both rose sixfold. Russia also developed an extensive sugar beet industry which partly compensated the landowners for the loss of the grain trade.

Nevertheless the opposition to the Tilsit treaty terms was so serious that Alexander had to abrogate the treaty. The recollection that his father was strangled chiefly because of his anti-British policy was not lost upon the Emperor.

Although Alexander was still under Napoleon's influence, their second meeting, in Erfurt in 1808, was much cooler. Napoleon's attempt to raise the Polish question annoyed Alexander, while the Corsican was slighted by Alexander's refusal to give him his sister in marriage. By the end of 1810 the relations between the two countries were already strained and in the following year Napoleon began his preparations for war against Russia.

Russia had meanwhile benefited by the French alliance in that she had been able in 1809 to incorporate the rest of Finland at the end of a victorious war against Sweden. In the south, too, Russia conducted a successful campaign against Turkey which ended in 1812, with the annexation of Bessarabia.

This was also Alexander's final period of liberal reforms. An attempt was actually made in that era to introduce constitutional government. Speransky, a prominent liberal statesman, who enjoyed Alexander's confidence, prepared a scheme to inaugurate constitutional changes in four stages. But reactionary opposition was against these reforms and the Tsar, coming under its influence, regretted his liberal measures. In 1812 Speransky was dismissed from his post as Imperial Secretary and banished. Shortly afterwards one of the leading reactionaries, Arakcheyev, became Alexander's chief mentor and collaborator.

In 1812 Napoleon invaded Russia, at the head of an army 600,000 strong. The Russian force was less than half that strength, and adopted a strategy based on time and space, two valuable allies. For the deeper Napoleon penetrated into the country the greater his difficulties became.

After the bloody but indecisive battle of Borodino in September, 1812, the Russian army evacuated Moscow, which was occupied by Napoleon. The town was burnt by its inhabitants while Buonaparte settled down in the Kremlin, where he waited for, five weeks in vain for the Russian peace proposals. Winter was fast approaching and the process of disintegration of his Grande Armée was setting in. Napoleon then decided upon the retreat which was to prove so disastrous to his men. Many thousands of French soldiers were frozen to death on the way and the snow fields were lined with their corpses. When the French reached Smolensk and crossed the Berezina the bridges gave way and thousands more were drowned. Many others fell victims to the guerilla bands which harassed their retreat. Molodetskoye was reached on December 3rd, where Napoleon announced his decision of leaving for Paris. In Smorgony he abandoned the remnants of

his once proud army and appointed Murat Commander-in-Chief.

The "War of Liberation," as the war against Napoleon is called in Russia, continued during 1813 and 1814 and ended with Napoleon's defeat. The Russians and their allies entered Paris and at the Vienna Congress of 1815, Napoleon was dethroned and the Bourbons reinstated. Russia received the greater part of the Duchy of Warsaw, reconstituted by Napoleon, which was incorporated under the name of the Kingdom of Poland.

At the Vienna Congress Alexander was hailed as the saviour of Europe. He continued to play the leading part in the subsequent Congresses of Aix la Chapelle 1818, Troppau-Laibach 1820, and at Verona in 1822. All this completely turned his head. He came under the influence of some mystics and believed he had found in the Bible proofs of his divine mission. He proposed the formation of a "Holy Alliance," a kind of League of Nations of rulers, on the precepts of the Scriptures. Whatever his intentions may have been, this "Unholy Alliance" was made use of by his associates to crush every liberal movement in Europe.

The ideological peregrinations of the impressionable Tsar were followed with considerable misgiving by a small group of Russian intellectuals. These men, mostly aristocratic officers of the Guards, who had been to Paris with the army of occupation, returned to Russia with entirely modified views on the French Revolution and on the relative merits of Constitutional Government and Autocracy. The result was the formation of a secret society with the aim of limiting the power of the autocrat and of establishing a liberal form of administration. The southern section of the society under the leadership of Pestel was the more radical.

Their opportunity came in December, 1825, after the announcement of the sudden death of the Tsar in Taganrog. Alexander left no male issue. The nearest heir to the throne, his brother Constantine, who was Viceroy of Poland, had married a beautiful Polish woman and had renounced his right of succession in favour of his younger brother Nicholas. Nicholas, on his part, evidently thought it best to make a show of refusal, and in St. Petersburg swore allegiance to Constantine. For a fortnight the bickering between the two brothers was going on as to who should be Tsar. The members of the secret society thought this was their opportunity and, on December 25th, two Guards regiments marched into the Senat Square in St. Petersburg and demanded "Constantine and the Constitution." The men lacked a concerted and definite plan of action. Instead of occupying the Palace and other strategic points, arresting Nicholas and forcing him to sign either an abdication or a Constitution, they merely remained in the square on a bitterly cold day. Towards evening they were arrested and disarmed. Five of the leaders, Pestel, Ryleev, Muraviev, Bestuzhev-Rumin and Kakhovsky, were hanged, and a hundred and sixteen others sent to hard labour in Siberian mines.

### **DESPOTISM OF NICHOLAS I.**

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NICHOLAS thus ascended the throne under the dramatic augury of a popular revolt. He was entirely unlike his brother Alexander, the polished courtier. A man of very limited outlook and imperfect understanding, ignorant, cold and reserved, he inspired fear and hatred, which it was obviously his desire to do. Endowed with a firm belief in his own divine right, he

aimed to eradicate every aspiration for freedom or independent thought, not only in his own country, but wherever it was to be found. He regarded himself as appointed by Divine Providence to protect all the rulers against their peoples, with the sole exception of the Sultan, whose Christian subjects he actually incited to rebel.

A certain consciousness of his limitations induced him, at the beginning of his reign, to familiarise himself with the ideas and aspirations of the Decembrist movement, whose leaders he had executed and banished. The same inferiority complex compelled him to consult the opinions of his brother's advisers during his liberal period—Speransky, Krankin and Kochubey.

But he alone was to be the guardian of the views of his subjects; he alone was to determine their political aspirations, ideas and outlook. For this purpose he created a special body, a new secret police, the Corps of Gendarmes, which was to help him enforce complete obedience. He regarded himself as the armed champion of Holy Russia as well as of autocracy everywhere.

Education was one of his earliest considerations, to which he devoted his attention. He was not concerned to improve or extend its facilities. On the contrary, his object was to limit its sphere and curb its scope. Everything he regarded as politically dangerous was excluded from the school curriculum. The liberal University statutes granted by Alexander I in 1804 were withdrawn, and the new regulations limited secondary and University education to the upper class and bureaucracy alone. A strict censorship was also imposed on all publications.

His campaign against education was particularly intensified after the revolutions which broke out in

many European countries in 1848. A secret committee was established for punishing Press offences. The chairs of History and Philosophy were abolished as dangerous, and the number of students reduced. All teaching was now to be based on "religious truth." Many writers were arrested or exiled. A small group, formed by a young Socialist, Petrashevsky, to study prohibited literature was apprehended, and its members sentenced to death. The sentence was afterwards commuted to hard labour in Siberia. The great writer, Dostoyevsky, was one of the fraternity who underwent this ordeal.

War broke out with Persia in 1826, which ended two years later with the acquisition of Erivan and Nakhichevan, Persia also having to pay an indemnity of twenty million roubles. Shortly afterwards Nicholas espoused the cause of Greek independence and signed the Treaty of London with Britain and France. In the battle of Navarino, in 1827, the Turkish fleet was destroyed and the Russian army entered Adrianople. The Sultan was compelled to sue for peace. The independence of Greece was recognised and Russia extended her rights in the Black Sea.

Nicholas also had to suppress a Polish rising. In 1815 Alexander had granted to Poland a special constitution with an independent army and separate administration. The independence had stimulated progress, and Poland had begun to prosper again. Although Alexander later obviously regretted his liberality, he made no attempt to withdraw the constitution. In 1830 Nicholas decided to convoke the Diet, which had not met since 1822, and he personally presided at the meetings as King of Poland. With an entire lack of any sense of reality, or of the psychology of the ruler with whom they had to deal, the deputies demanded the union of the Lithuanian provinces to

Poland. This incensed Nicholas, and he left Warsaw in a rage.

The Polish discontent had meanwhile continued and, stirred by the events in France, a revolution broke out in November, 1830. The Viceroy's residence in Warsaw, the Belvedere, was attacked, and Constantine had to escape in the middle of the night. The Polish army of 90,000 was mobilised and invaded Lithuania. Attempts by some members of the Diet to negotiate with Nicholas failed, as he refused to treat with rebel subjects. The Diet then deposed the Romanov dynasty, appointed a new Government, and elected a president. A Russian army, 120,000 strong, invaded Poland and, in spite of the valiant resistance of the Poles, advanced on Warsaw. The expected help from France did not materialise, and in September, 1831, Warsaw was compelled to surrender. General Paskevich, the Commander-in-Chief of the victorious army, was appointed Viceroy of Poland, in place of Constantine, who had died of cholera.

Poland was incorporated in the Empire, her independent administration suppressed, the University of Warsaw and other educational institutions closed, and the Polish language proscribed.

The development of industry which had begun in Russia during the time of Alexander I, in consequence of the Continental system, proceeded apace. But the internal market was strictly limited owing to the peculiar social and economic conditions, particularly serfdom, which reduced the purchasing capacity of the largest section of the population to practically nothing. Even Nicholas, whose attention was concentrated upon his armed forces and the policing of Europe, could not entirely ignore the need for fresh markets. His first two wars—against Persia and Turkey—were both successful, and opened wide the markets of these countries for

Russian goods. Russia dominated the trade of Persia. Russian currency and trading customs were fully accepted there.

This could not be regarded with any great satisfaction in Britain. The practical exclusion of British goods from the Russian market as a result of the high protective tariffs was in itself a source of irritation. When Nicholas started his penetration into Central Asia and Afghanistan, and was approaching the very frontiers of India, this irritation changed to alarm. France, who also saw her trade threatened by Russia's forward drive, was Britain's natural ally against Russia on this occasion.

Nicholas was also looking for trouble in another direction. The Danubian countries were competing against the Russian grain trade in the European market, and this seemed to Nicholas intolerable. The Revolution in Hungary provided him with an opportunity of dealing with that country. He was, however, much as he would have liked to, unable to stop in Hungary. In 1853 he found a pretext for invading the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia. This resulted, of course, in a war with Turkey, and it also antagonised Austria, which was interested in the Danubian trade.

Thus the Crimean War was started, in which Nicholas found himself faced by a coalition of Britain, France, Austria and Turkey. The British and French fleets entered the Black Sea and effected a landing of troops in the Crimea, and after an eleven months siege Sevastopol was taken.

This defeat was a show-up of the whole system introduced by Nicholas. The Russian people had discovered that, in addition to its other disadvantages, reaction condemns a country to military weakness. Russia was weaker than the western countries because

her people were less educated. Lack of technical development resulted in inferior transport facilities, poorer ships and guns, munitions and food; fewer doctors and hospitals. The need for reform was now obvious to everyone.

It was too much of a shock for Nicholas to see the collapse of his entire system. Without awaiting the end of the war, he took poison, and his son and heir, Alexander II, 1855-1881, ascended the throne.

### ALEXANDER II: ERA OF REFORMS.

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THE new ruler inaugurated an era of reforms. All of them, however, bore the marks of his weak personality. A man without any definite political views, he was carried away by currents even if they swept him in the opposite direction to that which he intended to travel. Although good natured and well-meaning, he often surpassed even his father in the cruelty of his intentions.

But he ascended the throne committed to reforms, and reforms Russia would have. The Crimean War had exposed too blatantly and unmistakably the dangers to the country of a reign like that of Nicholas, and there was no going back.

The most urgent of the problems that were awaiting solution was that of the serfs. Its urgency was becoming more and more obvious even to many of the nobles themselves. Not only did the existence of serfdom condemn the country to stagnation, but increasing numbers of peasants were taking the law into their own hands. The more oppressive of the owners were murdered or their estates fired. The vast majority of the nobles, however, preferred the dangers which they knew to a future wrapped in mystery, and were against any change.

## ABOLITION OF SERFDOM.

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THE origin of serfdom was based upon the duty of the nobles to protect the country. While they were soldiering or performing other unpaid duties for the State, it was regarded as fair that they should be supported by the peasants whom they protected. To each noble was allocated a certain number of peasants, who had to maintain him. To prevent them from deserting while the noble was engaged on State duties, the peasants were prohibited from leaving the land without the permission of the landlord.

This led the nobles to regard themselves not only as the owners of the land tilled by the peasants but also of the persons of their labourers, and any peasant leaving the land was treated as a criminal and severely punished.

Up to the time of Peter I and during his reign the nobles had to perform duties for the State, and there was thus a certain moral justification in the demand of service from the peasants. But after Peter's time conditions changed radically. The services rendered by the nobles became purely nominal, and under Peter III the nobles were entirely free from obligatory service. At the same time the position of the peasants deteriorated. The moral of this situation was not lost upon the peasants, who remembered that they were once free, while they had always regarded the land as belonging to those who tilled it.

Although some nobles realised the injustice as well as the dangers of serfdom, the large majority persisted in their opposition to any reform, and feared its consequences for themselves. The Tsar had to explain to the nobles of the Moscow province: "The present position is untenable, and it is better to abolish serf-

dom from above than wait till it begins to be abolished from below." Committees were set up all over the country, the Emperor using his persuasion to induce reluctant nobles to join the committees and prepare their drafts. In 1859 the "drafting commissions" of the "Main Committee" were set up.

The result of these labours was a half measure. All peasants were granted their personal freedom. Those who worked on the land were given an opportunity of buying from their master a small allotment and the huts which they occupied. But these allotments were insufficient to maintain the peasant and his family. Nor was the owner compelled to sell the land. But where he was willing to sell the Government advanced to the liberated serf four-fifths of the purchase money provided he could raise the remainder. The land acquired did not become the property of the individual peasant, but of the village community, the "Mir," which was responsible to the Government for the repayment of the loan and interest. Every few years the Mir redistributed the land among its members according to the increase or diminution in the families. Each peasant received, however, not a single plot of land but a number of strips of different quality, and situated some distance apart from each other.

The reform, although an important step forward, did not satisfy anybody entirely. The landowners who received a large sum from the Government were disgruntled because they were deprived of the free labour to which they were accustomed. They also feared the results of this toying with new-fangled ideas of personal freedom for the lower orders. The peasants were disgruntled because they saw themselves cheated out of the land which they had always regarded as their own. The large class of household serfs, who were granted personal freedom but no land, were anxious

whether they would be able to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The manufacturers, who had hoped that the reform would increase their supply of labour and expand the home market, saw themselves deprived of both these objectives.

The peasant still remained attached to the land, which he could only leave on payment of his share of the community's indebtedness. As a result of the heavy taxation and repayments there was also no question of a substantial increase in their purchasing capacity.

However, some rise in the buying power of the village population did take place. The productiveness of free labour proved higher than that of serfs and larger crops resulted, the increase being as much as a third. Industry began to expand, textile factories increased their output fivefold, and a metallurgical industry also began to spring up. The construction of railways, which facilitated the transport of raw materials to factories and the finished goods to the consumers, contributed to this development.

### **THE ZEMSTVO REFORM.**

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THE emancipation of the peasants necessitated a reform of local government. This was introduced three years after the first reform. County Councils ("Zemstvos") were introduced, in whose competence were placed public welfare, education, medical and veterinary services, hospitals and insurance against fire and provision of food in case of failure of the crops. In these Zemstvos the nobles secured a majority over the peasants. Although the quality of their work varied from province to province, as a whole the Zemstvos did much to improve the life in the Russian village.

Another important reform of the same year, 1864, was that of the Law Courts. Russian justice was, up to that time, a travesty of real justice. All court officials expected fees and bribes from litigants, and the delays were interminable. Accused persons might languish in prison for years before their case came up for trial, and then judgment would depend on their ability to pay the judges. The reform put an end to secret procedure, venality and many of the other abuses of the time. Trials were held in public with oral procedure and trained advocates. Trial by jury was introduced and the judges were irremovable. Appeals to the Senate could only take place in case of irregularities of procedure.

In 1870 was introduced another useful reform—municipal self-government in place of administration by officials. Unfortunately, as in the case of the Zemstvos, the Government administrative system was allowed to continue side by side with the councils, producing endless friction.

In 1874 a reform of military obligations was introduced. The years of service were reduced from twenty-five to sixteen, and then to six. Military service was made obligatory also for all classes. Formerly only the taxpaying class, that is, peasants and burghers, had to supply recruits.

A young man taken into the army was lost to his family. If he did return home after twenty-five years service he was not a help but a burden to his relatives. A person able to afford the special tax could escape military service. The service was now partly humanised. For people of education the period of service was still further reduced.

In 1863 another Polish insurrection broke out. The Poles were naturally aspiring for independence and in spite of the comparatively liberal treatment they

enjoyed under this reign they pressed their demands at meetings and demonstrations. Alexander showed himself willing to grant further concessions and appointed a Pole as minister of education, but the discontent continued and insurrections broke out all over Poland. These were, however, quelled with great severity and Poland deprived of the final vestige of its independence. An intensive Russification policy was begun. Teaching in the Russian language was made compulsory in schools and in Warsaw University while all official documents had to be in Russian.

The conquest of the Caucasus was completed in Alexander II's reign. For sixty-five years the mountain people in this region successfully defended their independence. But Prince Baryatinsky, appointed to the command in 1857, was able to bring the war to a victorious conclusion.

### PENETRATION OF CENTRAL ASIA.

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RUSSIA had also made a substantial advance in Central Asia and annexed Turkestan, Samarkand, Khiva and Bokhara. In 1858 a treaty was signed with China by which Russia acquired the left bank of the Amur River in the Far East, where Vladivostok was built.

In spite of the unfavourable outcome of the Crimean campaign and the peace of 1856 by which Russia had to give up Bessarabia, and promise not to keep a fleet or build arsenals on the Black Sea, nor intervene in Turkish internal affairs, she was soon in a position to resume independent action. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Russia repudiated her undertaking with regard to the Black Sea.

In 1876 the Bulgars revolted against Turkish rule,

and Russia proposed to the Powers concerted action against Turkey, but discovering that Britain was secretly helping that country, Alexander decided to act alone. In secret negotiations conducted at the time Britain and Austria informed Russia that the conditions of their neutrality would be that Bulgaria should not be under direct Russian control in case of liberation, Russia should make no territorial acquisitions, Serbia should not be involved in the war, and that Russia should not attack Constantinople.

Although Russia was deprived of her war gains in advance she nevertheless decided to act. The campaign was successful and the Russian army advanced close to the walls of Constantinople, but was stopped there by the British fleet. At the Berlin Conference, although Russia received back the lost part of Bessarabia and was ceded Kars, Ardahan and Batum, the people, who did not know of the secret negotiations, felt that Russia had been cheated of the fruits of victory, and there was considerable irritation against Bismarck.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

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THE general development of the country was accompanied by a marked rise of the revolutionary movement. Its leaders and champions were young University students, who formed circles in which propaganda was carried on for an agrarian revolution. In 1866 the student Karakozov attempted to assassinate the Tsar. This attempt ended with the execution of a few and the banishment of others. But Alexander was seriously frightened, and began to remove the more progressive ministers and entrust their posts to well-tried reactionaries, who endeavoured to negative, or limit the scope of, the earlier reforms. The two leading

radical reviews were closed down and some of their contributors sent to hard labour in Siberia.

These changes, instead of pacifying, increased the dissatisfaction among the educated classes. A new movement was then gaining ground among Russian students, chiefly girls, living abroad. As there were no higher educational institutions for women in Russia, those who wished to study had to go abroad, mainly to Switzerland. There they came under the influence of revolutionary tendencies, such as the "Populists," who preached peasant revolt.

The Government unwittingly helped these young people to carry their views into practice by ordering them, in 1873, to return to Russia. Once home, they joined the students' secret groups and endeavoured to translate their theories into action. But their naive attempts ended in failure. The peasants themselves could make neither head nor tail of these strange people from the towns disguised as peasants, and they were all easily rounded up by the police.

Disappointed by this failure, the revolutionaries decided to change their tactics. A secret society was formed under the romantic title of "Land and Freedom." While still hoping and working for a popular rising of the peasants they were also to undertake the assassination of the most notorious "Enemies of the People." As is inevitable in such organisations, their terrorist activities soon became their chief pre-occupation, which absorbed all their energies. There was a split in the society, and the terrorist section formed a new party, "The People's Will." The remaining members, under the leadership of Plekhanov, formed the party called "The Black Partition" (Agrarian Revolution), from which afterwards developed the Social Democratic Party of Russia.

Attempts upon the Tsar's life continued. In 1879 Solovyov fired five shots at the Tsar, and in the following year Khalturin blew up his dining room at the Winter Palace. After this explosion Alexander II appointed a special Commission under the chairmanship of General Loris Melikov, which was to prepare a report on constitutional changes. On March 1st, 1881, the Tsar signed Loris Melikov's report, which purported to grant limited constitutional government to the country, and on the same day the Tsar was killed by a bomb of "The People's Will."

### ALEXANDER III: ERA OF REACTION.

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ALEXANDER III, 1881-1894, who succeeded his father, while promising to continue his parent's reforms, at the same time described himself as "chosen to defend" autocratic power.

Alexander was not trained for ruling a great country, and any training would have been lost upon this man of limited intelligence. He had an elder brother who was being prepared for the task, but his premature death made Alexander heir and also bridegroom-elect to his brother's fiancée, the Danish Princess Mary, sister of Queen Alexandra of England. Alexander III has left several volumes of a diary in which he recorded his daily life, what he had eaten and drunk, whom he had seen, and that he went to bed at three or four in the morning "with a heavy head." He kept up his heavy drinking habits even when he was Tsar. In spite of his gigantic strength he died before he was fifty from kidney and liver troubles accelerated by alcoholism.

From this diary can also be seen that his father had a complete contempt for him, and did not keep him

informed of the major negotiations and agreements with foreign States. After Alexander II's morganatic marriage, on the death of his wife, to Princess Dolgoruky, the relations between father and son became even more strained.

The execution of the leaders of the "People's Will" party, and the arrest and banishment of all who were in any way connected with the organisation, left the few who had escaped arrest incapable of any major effort. Only six years later the party recovered sufficiently to organise an attempt upon the life of Alexander III. Lenin's elder brother, Alexander Ulyanov, was at the head of this plot. All the other participants were, like himself, University students. Although the Tsar escaped death, all those concerned in the attempt were executed.

One by one all the ministers of the previous reign, including Loris Melikov, Milyutin and Ignatyev, who favoured reforms were dropped, and their places filled by men of extreme reactionary views.

A distinctive feature of this reign was the persecution of national minorities and dissenting sects. The revolutionary movement was destroyed and the Press gagged. Public opinion was crushed and everywhere reigned a graveyard silence. Only the great famine of 1891 stirred public consciousness to some action and fresh opposition emerged. Instead of a terrorist group who hoped to frighten the Government into doing what it regarded as right, the opposition was now chiefly led by Social Democrats, who endeavoured to organise the workers for the struggle for their emancipation.

The sharp fall in the prices of grain, of which Russia was the principal exporter, necessitated an increase in the customs tariff on imported goods, with a view to reducing imports and maintaining the trade balance. This also helped home industry to develop. The

impoverished peasantry now flocked into the towns in search of work, thus providing industry with cheap labour. The high profits secured by Russian industrialists attracted foreign capital, and up to the end of the nineteenth century about £150,000,000 was invested by French, Belgian and British capitalists in Russian industry.

Alexander III's foreign policy was a peaceful one. Old Gorchakov was replaced as Minister for Foreign Affairs by the Germanophil, Giers. This official's direction of Russia's foreign policy was cleverly utilised by Bismark. In spite of his alliance with Austria of 1879, which was mainly directed against Russia, he pulled off, in 1882, a renewal of the "Three Emperors League" of 1872. This policy fettered Russia to the German chariot. Its advantage to Russia was that it secured her against the occupation of the Strait by Britain. In 1890, when Russia proposed the extension of the alliance, Bismark's successor, who was courting Britain at the time, preferred not to tie himself to Russia, particularly as there was already in existence, since 1882, a triple alliance with Italy.

Both France and Russia realised the danger of their isolation in face of the German-Austro-Italian Alliance and, in spite of the Tsar's hatred of republics and free institutions, a *rapprochement* with France began. In 1891 a French squadron visited Kronstadt and was given an enthusiastic reception. The *entente cordiale* was formed. In August, 1892, a military convention was elaborated which was approved by the Tsar in 1894, a few months before his death.

### NICHOLAS II—AND LAST.

NICHOLAS II, who succeeded his father on the latter's death on November 1, 1894, was entirely unfit to deal with the situation he inherited. Weak,

unintelligent, modest and bashful, he was completely unsuited for the exalted position that was thrust upon him by the misfortune of his birth. His preference was for the life of a small country squire in the circle of his family, and he never became used to his high status although he reigned until 1917. In spite of his limitations, he felt it his duty to bear the burden of autocratic power and hand it intact over to his successor. But he had to wait a long time for an heir. Princess Alix of Hesse, whom he married on ascending the throne, bore him first four daughters. And when a son and heir was born, in 1904, it was discovered that he had inherited from his mother's side the dread disease of hæmophilia. In their effort to preserve what they believed to be the future ruler of Russia they put their trust in every charlatan who claimed to have a cure for the heir. At first it was a "spiritist" from Lyons, M. Phillipe, and at a later period his place was taken by the "holy monk" Rasputin.

While his tastes were domestic, Nicholas had soon to deal with a situation which was becoming more tense and revolutionary from day to day. In spite of the reactionary laws imposed by Alexander III, the general discontent had begun to manifest itself even in his time. First of all the students started to protest openly against new restrictions imposed. Students had made the attempt on the life of Alexander III, and severe measures taken by the Government did not frighten them. Their opposition continued.

With the ascension of Nicholas II, people, for some reason unknown, were expecting the inauguration of a more liberal regime on the lines of his grandfather, Alexander II. But he did his utmost to disabuse the public mind on this score. When delegates who brought him congratulations on his marriage hinted that "the law should henceforth be respected and

obeyed not only by the nation, but also by the ruling authorities," the Tsar, on the instruction of his adviser, Pobedonostsev, replied: "I am aware that at certain Zemstvo meetings voices have been raised of late by persons carried away by senseless dreams of the participation of Zemstvo representatives in internal Government. Let all know that I intend to defend the principle of autocracy as unswervingly as did my father."

The Liberals replied to this challenge by an open letter, in which they informed the autocrat that "‘senseless dreams’ concerning yourself are no longer possible. . . . You first began the struggle, and the struggle will come."

The commencement of the struggle was not long delayed. In 1896 occurred the first large strikes of workers in St. Petersburg, which involved 30,000 men. Although the demands were purely economic, the strike was organised and led by Social Democrats, who were at the time in favour of solely economic demands by the workers. In 1898 the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was formed, and shortly afterwards began a struggle against the "economism" and for a revolutionary party.

Lenin, with a group of collaborators, formed the spearhead of the revolutionary opposition, which was brilliantly expressed in the "Spark," published by them in opposition to the "Workers' Thought," which was run by the Moderates. Although those who grouped themselves around the "Spark" were all against the "economists," shortly afterwards some differences of opinion on strategy and organisation arose among themselves. These differences came to a head at the Party Conference of Easter, 1903, which was held in London. At this conference Lenin, who led the more revolutionary section, obtained a majority—hence the

name Bolshevik, or member of the majority. The more moderate section, led by Martov, were in the minority, and thus named Mensheviks.

With the revival of political strife, the old party of the "People's Will" was reorganised, in 1898, and assumed the name of "Socialist Revolutionaries." They remained faithful to their old tactics of terrorism and peasant risings.

In 1899 student disorders began which were answered by the Minister of Education, Bogolepov, with a threat of military service for student strikers. In February, 1901, Bogolepov was assassinated by the student Karpovich. In April of the same year the Home Secretary, Sypiagin, was killed by Balmashov. In his place was appointed Von Plehve, who was an even worse reactionary than Sypiagin.

## WAR WITH JAPAN.

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NICHOLAS had surrounded himself now with reactionaries and tried to rule by force. Witte, who was opposed to Plehve's policy, was dismissed in August, 1903.

The expansionist policy pursued by the Government in the Far East was soon to bring Russia into conflict with Japan. The Trans-Siberian railway to Vladivostok, which was begun in 1891, was completed, but Vladivostok is ice-bound for several months in the year and Russia was looking for an ice-free port further south, in Manchuria. In 1895, when Japan had defeated China, Russia had joined France and Germany to prevent Japanese annexation of Chinese territory on the mainland. But three years later Russia herself obtained from China a lease allowing her to construct a branch railway through Mukden to Port Arthur, a Chinese stronghold, which had been

occupied by the Russian fleet six months earlier. Japan protested against the occupation of the left bank of the Yalu River, but Russia ignored this protest. In 1902 Japan concluded a five-year alliance with Britain. Russia then promised to withdraw her troops from the disputed area before October 8th, 1903.

But Witte, who had advised in favour of this withdrawal, was no longer in office, while Plehve and the Court party were for war. The Tsar, Grand Dukes, and many of the courtiers had previously become shareholders in the "Eastern Asiatic Industrial Society," established by an adventurous Guards officer, Bezobrazov, for felling timber on the Yalu river. They had, of course, no idea of Japan's preparedness for war, and the sudden attack, on the night of February 5th, 1904, on the Russian Fleet in Port Arthur came to them as a great surprise.

The evil genius behind this campaign was Admiral Alexeyev, who was in supreme command over the naval and military forces in the Far East. Apathetic and lethargic, he was largely responsible for the inactivity and the errors of the initial stages of the war, which enabled the Japanese to make full use of their strategic advantages. Alexeyev actually forbade the navy to take the risks of proceeding to sea. The adoption of a more vigorous and courageous naval policy from the very beginning could have prevented the Japanese from establishing complete dominance in the Pacific and from transferring large armies to the Asiatic Continent.

Russia had to bring her troops and supplies by the single-tracked Trans-Siberian Railway, while her fleet had to make a voyage of 14,000 miles to reach the battle zone.

The Japanese concentrated at first their attack upon Port Arthur, of which the Russians had made what was

By the summer of the same year the revolt had gained momentum. The strike movement extended throughout the country, and resulted in the formation of Soviets of Workers' Deputies in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and in a number of other cities. The Revolutionary movement had spread also to the Army and Navy. On June 27 the crew of the cruiser Potemkin revolted. By the middle of October a general strike had developed, paralysing not only the whole industry of the country, but also railway transport, postal and telegraph services, trade, universities, secondary schools, and, in effect, the whole life of the country.

The Tsar's Government capitulated in face of this united opposition. On October 30, 1905, a manifesto was issued which granted the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, and of the Press, and which contained a promise to convoke a Constituent Assembly, for which the Liberal opposition had been clamouring for years. Strikes and isolated risings continued, nevertheless, in different parts of the country, and led up to the Moscow rising of December, 1905. Here, fierce fighting went on in the streets for more than a week, but with the help of some picked regiments of Guards, and Cossacks, supported by artillery, the Government succeeded in taking the barricades erected by the revolutionaries and in crushing the rising.

The defeat of the Moscow rebellion determined the fate of the 1905 Revolution. Though sporadic strikes and peasant risings continued until 1907, the Revolution as a great united national effort to establish a constitutional Government was practically at an end, and the counter-revolution took the offensive. The first and second State Dumas, convoked in accordance with the Government manifesto, were dissolved. When dissolving the second Duma, on June 3, 1907, a decree

was issued which modified the electoral law in such a manner that the Government had a secure majority of the Right and Centre parties in the third and fourth Dumas.

The Government then embarked on one of its most ambitious reforms—the so-called “Stolypin Agrarian Reform.” As early as November, 1906, the then Premier, Stolypin, promulgated a decree which allotted land belonging to the village commune to individual peasants on terms of ownership. Each peasant could take possession of the land which was allocated to him during the last distribution, convert it into his private holding, and leave the commune. By this reform, as well as by partial sale of land belonging to landowners, through the Peasant Bank, the Government had hoped to create in the villages a powerful class of conservative, well-to-do peasants to serve as a support for the existing system. But the Stolypin reform met with failure. The vast majority of the peasants were only lukewarm in their co-operation. Only a small proportion of them availed themselves of the opportunity to leave the commune and take up land on terms of ownership.

This failure to base its authority on the support of the mass of the peasantry instead of on the small class of landowners alone, sealed the fate of the autocratic system. Although the Government did succeed in forming an alliance with the leading commercial and industrial bourgeoisie which grouped itself in the Octobrist party, it remained as before, a government relying mainly on the rich land-owning class for support. Existing contradictions between the interests of this small group and those of the rest of the country were not only not lessened, but on the contrary, became even more acute.

The assassination of Stolypin in a theatre in Kiev in

1909 while he was watching a performance in the presence of the Tsar, spelt also the end of the land reform after its not very promising beginning.

The wholesale persecutions which set in after the failure of the revolutionary movement did not eradicate the existing discontent. The closing down of opposition newspapers, the suppression of trade unions and the ban on educational and cultural organisations only resulted in driving the opposition underground. A certain fatigue was nevertheless observed in a great many of those who were formerly the most active in the struggle for a constitutional government.

The decline in the revolutionary movement lasted from 1907 to 1910 in which year it again slowly revived and gained momentum. It developed particularly after the massacre of workers at the Lena Goldfields in April, 1912. This increased activity was also noticeable in a growth of the strike movement among workers. The situation was becoming more and more revolutionary. In July, 1914, barricades were actually erected in certain districts of St. Petersburg and heavy fighting took place around them. A real revolutionary situation was rapidly arising in Russia. Another struggle between the two opposed forces was obviously imminent when Tsarist Russia plunged into the first Great War.

### THE MARCH REVOLUTION.

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RUSSIA'S participation in the Great War of 1914-18 was determined by a number of factors and considerations, economic, political, strategic, as well as internal.

To allow the crushing of France and the establishment of a Germano-Austrian hegemony in Europe was

contrary to Russian interests, and would have represented a serious threat to the security of the country. Moreover, it would have still further antagonised the whole Liberal section of the population, which was in favour of collaboration with France and Britain and was anti-Prussian in sentiment. Nor could the Tsarist Government countenance the crushing of Serbia, which would have resulted in an entire loss of prestige in the Balkans and antagonised the Conservative elements, which regarded Russia as the natural defender of the small Slav nations of the Balkans against encroaching Germanism. The occupation of the Balkan Peninsula would also have secured for the Germans a convenient base for future attack against Southern Ukraine.

The economic objectives included also a desire for a more favourable trade agreement with Germany than the one concluded in 1894 and prolonged ten years later. This agreement had worked chiefly in the interests of Germany.

The Government was, no doubt, also hopeful that a foreign war would help it to avoid an internal crisis which was fast approaching owing to the increase of revolutionary activity. Patriotic enthusiasm was expected to eliminate internal dissensions and unite the whole country behind the Government. At first these expectations seemed to materialise, and practically the whole nation did stand behind the Government for the prosecution of the war. The suppression of the revolutionary trade unions, the imposition of a relentless military censorship, the arrest of Bolsheviks and other anti-war elements suppressed, for a time, all opposition.

However, the Tsarist Government soon forfeited the confidence of the country. The nation was ill-prepared for waging a long war. Supplies of ammunition were exhausted in the first months, and when General

Mackenzen broke through the Russian lines in Galicia in April, 1915, and a general retreat started, the Tsarist Government's prestige slumped. People who were lending their support to the autocracy under the mistaken belief that such a centralised Government meant strength and unity against a foreign aggressor were disillusioned.

During the summer of 1915 the German armies occupied practically the whole of Poland and captured the chain of fortresses—Kovno, Novo-Georgievsk, Ossovets and Brest Litovsk—each defeat being a very severe blow to the prestige and reputation of the Old Regime.

In addition to the revealed deficiencies in the conduct of the war, similar cracks became obvious in the internal structure of the country. With every month of war the disorganisation of the economic life of the country made itself more and more deeply felt. The first serious difficulties were experienced in transport. The retreat from Poland and Galicia resulted in a complete blocking of the railways by refugees and evacuated property. There was a breakdown in the supply of fuel, raw materials, and foodstuffs. Production of essential war material fell. Mass mobilisation, the requisition of cattle, agricultural produce and goods needed for the army brought about a serious shortage in the rest of the country. There was a dangerous diminution in agricultural labour, a tragic decline in the sown area, and in cattle breeding. With the deepening economic collapse, discontent mounted. A vigorous strike movement set in, which the severest reprisals failed to hold in check.

The repeated defeats of the Tsarist armies, the obvious incapacity of the Government to carry on the war, the growing menace of immediate revolution, all this stirred the higher strata of Russian society.

Although the Government had moved somewhat towards the principles of bourgeois monarchy, yet it continued to adhere to, and to uphold, the principles of unrestricted autocracy. The rights and prerogatives of the State Dumas were curtailed. When displeased with it, the Tsar would dissolve it without convoking it again. All power was still retained in the hands of the Tsar and the Court camarilla.

During the years of the war the actual power in the State was exercised by Gregory Rasputin. He came to be regarded by the Tsar and his family as a saintly old man, with the result that not a single step of any importance was undertaken by the autocrat without consulting Rasputin. It was the evil monk who appointed and dismissed ministers, fixed the period for the convocation of the Duma, and distributed Army orders among his friends. The rule of the so-called "Dark Forces," the omnipotence of Rasputin, and the rumours of a separate peace with Germany (a course favoured by Rasputin) antagonised the leading industrialists, who had acquired considerable influence in the economic life of the country during the war, but the opposition also increased among those sections of society which were formerly the main support of the Tsar's absolute rule—the higher nobility, even among some members of the Tsar's own family. The presence of an uncouth, semi-literate Siberian peasant as the chief adviser and actual ruler of Russia could not, naturally, appeal to them. The opposition against the autocratic rule of the Tsar was thus strengthened by the adherence of new elements, formerly loyal to autocracy.

A serious opposition had also arisen against unrestricted autocracy from the larger industrialists, who were chiefly organised in the Octobrist party, and the Constitutional Democratic party. During the

years preceding the war and particularly during the war itself, these parties had rapidly organised their political activities and taken into their hands local government, education, the Duma, and stimulated popular interest in their work by the organisation of congresses.

During the war military industrial committees were established, the so-called Union of District Councils and the Union of Cities. The avowed intention of these Unions was to help the Army in the prosecution of the war. Soon, however, these organisations discovered the futility of their efforts as long as the autocracy was allowed to remain in sole control of affairs, and able to undo all their good work. Each of their efforts, however, to secure a share in the Government and a real direction of affairs met with resistance on the part of the Court. The chief opposition to such collaboration emanated from Rasputin and the Tsaritsa. In one of her letters the Tsaritsa openly suggested the need of hanging the leaders of the two capitalist parties—Guchkov and Miliukov.

Anticipating the inevitable failure of the war, and fearing the menace of a popular revolution, the capitalist opposition began to prepare a Court revolution.

The murder of Rasputin by leading conservatives and members of the Tsar's own family on December 30, 1916, marked the beginning of that revolution, which led to the abolition of Tsardom less than three months later.

By the end of 1916 the general disorganisation of the economic life of the country had assumed enormous proportions. Industrial enterprises were continuously closing down. The difficulties in the food supply and the rising cost of living increased the general dis-

content. On March 8 a series of strikes occurred in St. Petersburg which involved 90,000 workers. Two days later the number of strikers had reached a quarter of a million. During those days the Left opposition was feverishly active. The workers and other discontented elements carried their opposition into the open streets and numerous clashes with the police took place. The police made extraordinary preparations for putting down the rising. At the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917, by order of the Minister for Home affairs, Protopopov, machine guns were mounted in the attics of houses on the main streets. The police and troops were brought into fighting order. Big military detachments were directed to the factories and plants. The Tsar himself wired from the Army Headquarters an order to the Governor of St. Petersburg, Khabalov, to "stop the Revolution."

Khabalov was, however, no longer in a position to stop it. The determining factor was that the Army had begun to make common cause with the people, and refused to obey the orders of their superiors or the police. On March 8, Cossacks were actually defending the crowd against the attacks of the police. On March 11 a section of the Pavlovsk Regiment refused to obey the order to put down the revolt. On the following day the soldiers of the Volinsky Regiment rose against the authorities and seized arms, and a number of other regiments came over to the Revolution. The Court party was becoming more and more isolated, relying almost entirely on the police for the maintenance of the obviously unpopular system.

In St. Petersburg during those hectic days were formed two bodies to direct the popular movement—a Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which became the General Staff of the Left section, and a Council of the Elders of the State Duma, which wielded

similar influence with the moderate opposition parties. The Popular movement soon spread to other cities and towns, where Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were likewise organised.

The revolutionary movement soon gained firm ground also in the Army. The soldiers began to form Soldiers' Committees, which collaborated with the the Workers' Soviets. On March 15, two Right Wing members of the State Duma, Shulgin and Guchkov, appeared at the Army Headquarters, where the Tsar was the nominal Commander-in-Chief, and demanded his abdication. Finding that he no longer enjoyed the support of the Army leaders, Nicholas was obliged to comply with this demand and to sign his abdication on his own and his son's behalf, and in favour of his brother Michael Romanov.

This last attempt, however, to preserve the monarchy caused deep indignation among the workers, soldiers, and more revolutionary elements, and Michael Romanov was forced to abdicate on the following day.

A provisional government was formed, consisting chiefly of Constitutional Democrats (Liberals) and Octobrists (Conservative Monarchists), and presided over by Prince Lvov. The moderate Socialists were represented in this Government by Kerensky, member of the fourth Duma, who became Minister of Justice in the newly-formed Cabinet.

## THE RISE OF BOLSHEVISM.

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FROM the very beginning of the Revolution a dualism of power had come into being which was bound to lead to further strife and conflict.

On the one hand there was the Provisional Govern-

ment, embodying the aspirations of the industrialists and well-to-do sections of the population for constitutional government, in which those sections would play a dominant part.

On the opposite side of the political scale stood the Soviets elected by factory workers, soldiers, and, to some extent, peasants, who demanded not merely the establishment of a constitutional government, but were much more interested in radical economic changes.

The Provisional Government was disinclined to make concessions to the popular demand, particularly as far as the demand for peace and the redistribution of land were concerned. Although the Provisional Government had promised to submit the Land question to the Constituent Assembly when this body should be called, the peasants regarded this promise as a mere ruse, to procrastinate and gain time, and their dissatisfaction did not abate. Still greater dissatisfaction was provoked by the Government's foreign policy, which the peasants feared would lead to a prolonged war, and delay the fulfilment of their aspiration to take over the land.

In its declaration of April 9, the Provisional Government stressed its intention to carry on the war to the end, and to continue the foreign policy on the lines followed by the Tsar's Government. In his turn, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Miliukov, in a Note to the Allied Governments, of May 1, openly spoke of the necessity of obtaining, as a result of the war, the necessary guarantees and sanctions.

The people of Russia interpreted this statement as a declaration that Russia would fight on until she obtained Constantinople and the Straits. This created consternation, not only because it would inevitably lead to a prolonged war, for which the country was ill fitted, but it also outraged the people's idealistic enthusiasm.

They also feared that if the war was to conclude with the annexation of foreign territories it would unavoidably lead to further wars of attrition, and the hope of a permanent peace would thus evaporate.

For all these reasons the foreign policy of the Provisional Government provoked considerable and growing discontent among the population. On May 3 and 4 the workers and soldiers of the capital went out into the streets with slogans "Down with the Capitalist Ministers," "Make the Secret Treaties Public," "Long Live the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies," and similar battle cries.

The cries were re-echoed in other towns, and, indeed, the behaviour of the masses became so threatening that the Government was compelled to issue a special declaration denying that it was pursuing a policy of conquest. A reshuffle of the Government took place, in which the offending Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for War, Guchkov, were dropped. A new coalition Government was formed, which included in addition to Kerensky five other representatives of the moderate Socialist parties.

Kerensky was entrusted with the War Ministry in this new coalition. A provincial lawyer with a capacity for speechifying, he was incapable of playing the role he had assumed. In the midst of a great Revolution and war it wanted qualities of leadership, of which he was entirely devoid. He was irresolute and weak, and it soon became obvious that the rounded sentence and happy paraphrase were no adequate substitute for decisive action. The Bolsheviks could not have wished for a better antagonist. He completely failed to instil a wholesome obedience to the law, or respect for the Government, even in the Army.

Meanwhile, the situation in the country was becoming acute and the economic collapse was intensifying. The

peasants, fearing that the Constituent Assembly would not grant them the land, took the law into their own hands and resorted to seizure and tilling of the soil.

All this not only contributed to the general disorganisation in Russia, but resulted in the Bolshevik party gaining more and more adherents. It was the only party that knew precisely what it wanted, had good leadership, and was in favour of the changes which were popular at the time, particularly on the questions of peace and land. They were also fully determined to carry out their policy in spite of any opposition.

On April 16, 1917, Lenin arrived in the capital, which was renamed Petrograd during the war, and immediately assumed complete mastery of the situation. Persecuted by the Tsarist Government he had been compelled to live for years abroad. On the day following his arrival he set forth his historic thesis about the tasks of the workers during the Revolution, which provided a concise answer to all the questions which were facing the party and the workers generally at the time. These proposals were accepted as a basis for further discussion by the Bolshevik Party Conference in Petrograd from May 7 to 12.

Under pressure from the Allied Governments the Provisional Government started energetic preparations for a war offensive. Success would have increased its prestige and strengthened its hold, but the offensive near Tarnopol was of short duration. Within two days the Russian armies were driven back by the enemy, with heavy loss. After this failure the political atmosphere became even more tense.

The capitalist parties demanded the reintroduction at the front of capital punishment—abolished after the Revolution—in order to stiffen up discipline, which

had become very lax. Another demand was for the establishment of firm power in the rear.

Disorganisation began to spread, and in April a number of factories had closed down in Petrograd, throwing out of employment several thousands of workers. This lock-out was regarded by the workers as a political manoeuvre on the part of the owners in the struggle against the workers. At the same time commodity prices began to rise, increasing two and threefold, while wages remained on the same level, notwithstanding the devaluation of currency.

Under these conditions the strike movement grew rapidly. Nor did the countryside remain impassive. In June and July a great wave of agrarian risings spread over the country. The Bolsheviks organised demonstrations for July 3 to 5, but the troops started to shoot at the demonstrators, and mass arrests and requisitions were carried out. On July 20 an order was issued for the arrest of Lenin, and the Bolshevik party had to continue its further activities underground. Aided by workers, Lenin was concealed in the vicinity of Petrograd, where he dwelt for some time in a hut, and afterwards got away to Finland. In spite of the ban, the Bolshevik party continued its activities and preparations for the overthrow of the Provisional Government.

During the period of July 25 to August 3 the Sixth Congress of the Party was held, at which it was decided in favour of a workers' revolution and the building of Socialism.

On July 16 there was another reshuffle in the Provisional Government. The Constitutional Democratic members of the Government resigned and, on July 20, Prince Lvov handed in the Premiership and was succeeded by Kerensky. The Soviets, which were at the time controlled by the moderate Socialist parties,

proclaimed the Provisional Government "A Government for the Salvation of the Revolution." On July 25 the death penalty was introduced at the front and General Kornilov was appointed Commander-in-Chief. To consolidate the forces behind the Provisional Government a Conference was held in Moscow in July in which, in addition to all the parties of the Government coalition, a number of Generals and officers participated.

At this conference the Generals Kornilov and Kaledin demanded the application of capital punishment at home also, and dissolution of the Soviets and the Army Committees, the abolition of the Declaration of Soldiers' Rights and the restoration of full power to the officers. In conformity with a secret agreement concluded during the Conference with some leading Moscow industrialists, Kornilov started a rebellion. On September 8 he moved against Petrograd an armed Corps, some Cossack troops and the Cossack Savage Division. Kornilov put forward certain demands which practically amounted to Kerensky's removal from the Government, and to his own appointment as Dictator. Kerensky, who did not desire self-elimination, proclaimed Kornilov a traitor.

Kornilov's threat united the nation in a determination to prevent the establishment of a military dictatorship. The people were armed by the Government, and the revolutionary forces moved against Kornilov's troops. Influenced by propaganda, Kornilov's men refused to march on Petrograd. General Krimov, in command of a corps, committed suicide. Kornilov and the generals attached to him were sent to the Bykhoz prison, but subsequently escaped to the Don district together with the Cossacks who were guarding them.

The period of September—October saw a deepening

of the crisis. There was complete confusion among the ruling elements. The moderate Socialists were losing their hold on the people and their loss was the Bolsheviks' gain. The protracted war had intensified the hunger and misery of the town populations. In the villages wholesale destruction of the manors began. The peasants started seizing the land, cattle, and goods belonging to the landlords. In town, village and in the Army the influence of the Bolsheviks grew apace. By the end of August and the beginning of September they commanded a majority in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets. In the Moscow elections to the Duma in September the Bolsheviks obtained fifty per cent. of the votes. There was a particular accession of strength for the party among the troops. The Bolsheviks also gained control of a considerable number of the Army Committees.

The Left Wing of the Socialist Revolutionary party, of which Kerensky was a member, broke away from their party and began to advocate the immediate handing over of the land to the peasants and the establishment of Soviet power. (Two demands also advocated by the Bolsheviks.) The workers were rapidly arming in Petrograd, Moscow, Kronstadt and other towns. The Provisional Government was helplessly appealing for support from outside. On September 25 the Government summoned the All-Russian Democratic Conference, which formed a sort of consultative parliament without legislative powers.

The Provisional Government decided upon the dissolution of the Imperial Duma and Imperial Council, and proclaimed a Republic. But the days of the Provisional Government were already numbered.

The crisis had broadened and the Bolshevik Party decided at its meeting of October 23 on an armed rising to seize power. This resolution was fully approved at

a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party on October 29. A special Revolutionary Committee was formed for organising the insurrection.

A few days later the Provisional Government decided to put on trial the members of the Military Council. The commander of the Petrograd district prohibited the execution of the orders of the Committee, and issued instructions for the arrest of its commissars.

On November 7 the Bolsheviks challenged the authority of the Provisional Government in open conflict.

Troops of the Revolutionary Committee captured the Government offices, railway stations, the Post and Telegraph offices and other places of strategic importance. The Officers' Training Corps and the Women's Battalions who were concentrated near the Winter Palace to defend the Provisional Government proved inadequate. The siege of the Winter Palace lasted the whole day. Towards evening, when the guns of the Peter and Paul fortress and of the cruiser Aurora which, with three minelayers, had sailed up the Neva and fired a few shots at the Palace, the defence collapsed. Firing from the Palace ceased and the Provisional Government capitulated.

Kerensky had previously escaped. The other members of the Government who were in the Palace were placed under arrest and sent to the Fortress. The Bolsheviks had assumed power.

The same day the Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets opened in Petrograd. It issued a proclamation about the transfer of power to the Soviets, passed a resolution concerning the formation of the Soviet Government, and issued decrees on the questions of land and peace. A Council of People's Commissars was elected, headed by Lenin. Thus was accomplished a change over which was bound to have the widest reper-

cussions not only on Russia but on the rest of the world as well.

## SOVIETS UNEASY TRIUMPH.

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THE establishment of the Bolshevik Government did not mean plain sailing for the new administration. Far from it. The new Power enjoyed at first the support of only a section of the population, albeit the best organised, most determined and best led. More than eighty per cent. of the population was rural. Their support was won for the Bolshevik slogan "Peace and Land," which appealed to the land-hungry and war-weary peasants. When they helped the workers to overthrow the Provisional Government they were not actuated by a desire to establish a Socialist system of society. If the Provisional Government had only had the courage and foresight to grant the land to the peasants they would have secured a very valuable ally, and the course of the Revolution might have been entirely different.

From the very beginning the Bolshevik power was surrounded by formidable enemies. The new Government had therefore to maintain its authority and introduce changes in the teeth of fierce opposition and almost incessant struggle. Two days after its accession to power there was a serious rising of the Officers' Training Corps in Moscow, which was organised by the "Committee for the Salvation of the Country and Revolution." This revolt was headed by the Mayor of Moscow, Rudnev, a Right Socialist Revolutionary. The fighting lasted for seven days, but on November 15th the insurrectionists were forced to capitulate.

Of greater danger to the new regime was the movement of Cossacks under the command of General

Krasnov, who advanced on Petrograd from the front.

The attack upon the city was to have been supported by the rising of the Officers' Training Corps. All the arrangements for the attack were under the direction of the "All-Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Country and the Revolution." The rising was, however, put down within twenty-four hours. The Cossacks suffered defeat near Gatchina and refused to march on Petrograd, asking only for a free passage to the Don. General Krasnov was captured by the Soviet Army, but was released after having pledged his word to discontinue his activities against the Soviets. He broke his parole, however, and went to the Don, where he started active organisation of the counter-revolutionary forces to fight against Soviet power. Kerensky succeeded in making his escape abroad.

Numerous but unsuccessful attempts were made to organise the counter-revolutionary forces against the new administration. Strenuous efforts were also made to form a coalition which should include all Socialist parties.

The All-Russian Union of Railway Workers and Employees was particularly active in this endeavour as were several members of the Bolshevik party. On November 17 the Bolsheviks who insisted on the formation of such a Provisional Coalition Government which should include all the Socialist parties represented in the Soviets, resigned from the Central Committee of the Party. Their names were Kamenev, Zinoviev, Miliutin, Rykov and Nogin.

On the following day, Rykov, Miliutin, Theodorovich, Shlyapnikov, Ryazanov and some others resigned from the Council of the People's Commissars. The attempt of the All Army Committee to form an anti-Bolshevik Government headed by the Socialist Revolutionaries, and to establish a united front with the Don Cossacks

under Kaledin and the Ukrainian Rada was frustrated. The Commander-in-Chief, General Dukhonin, who had refused to submit to the Council of People's Commissars, and in particular to start immediate peace negotiations, was dismissed from his post. In his place was appointed N. V. Krylenko, who, with the aid of a detachment, captured the headquarters on December 3. During the engagement Dukhonin was killed.

Feverish activity now developed among the different parties to prepare for the forthcoming convocation of the Constituent Assembly, the elections for which were held in September. The Bolsheviks only secured a minority of seats in the Assembly and they alleged that the elections did not reflect the quickly changing political situation in the country.

The anti-Bolshevik Union for the Defence of the Constituent Assembly had organised demonstrations for January 18, the opening day of the Assembly. The Government also expected a rising on the part of the adherents of the Assembly. On January 18 the Constituent Assembly opened and elected as its chairman the Socialist Revolutionary Chernov. As was to be expected, the Assembly assumed immediately a hostile attitude towards the Government. On the following day Lenin read a declaration dissolving the Assembly. The Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist Revolutionaries quitted the Assembly and the other members were dispersed by the military.

The Cossacks of the Don and the Kuban became now the main stronghold of the counter-revolution. During the Kornilov affair, General Kaledin had been preparing to seize the Government. The quick collapse of the Kornilov revolt, however, compelled Kaledin to postpone the actual carrying out of his plans.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

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AFTER the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, the Don district became the centre of gravity of the entire counter-revolutionary forces. All the officers, Cossacks, cadets of the Officers Training Corps, Generals Alexeyev, Denikin, Kornilov and others gathered there. At the beginning of December 1917, the counter-revolutionaries dispersed the local Military Revolutionary Committee and disarmed the workers of Rostov. On January 7, 1918, Kornilov was appointed Commander in Chief of the Volunteer Army. But the Revolutionary troops despatched to the Don, assisted by the local workers and poorer peasants defeated the White army and Kornilov had to retreat to the Salsk steppes of the Kuban district. Kornilov himself was killed in action near Ekaterinodar.

Heavy defeats were also inflicted on the Cossack leader Ataman Dutov, in January and February. He had taken up arms against the Soviets at the beginning of the Civil War and had succeeded in taking Orenburg on December 21. In February, 1918, the Soviet Power was restored in the Ukraine where Ukrainian Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries had previously seized control and established a national bourgeois Government—the Central Rada. During the same month a bourgeois government was also liquidated in Central Asia and Soviet rule was proclaimed in Finland.

Soon after the November Revolution a Decree on Peace was issued and all the belligerent countries were asked to start peace negotiations. These offers found, of course, no response anywhere. On November 27th the German Supreme Command agreed to begin armistice negotiations with the Soviet Government.

The conclusion of a separate peace treaty by the bourgeois Ukrainian Government on February 9th had forced the hand of the Soviet Government on this question. On February 10, Trotsky, who headed the Soviet Delegation at Brest-Litovsk, announced his refusal to sign an annexationist peace, and proclaimed at the same time the suspension of hostilities and the demobilisation of the army.

While the Soviets suspended military action, the Germans did not. On the contrary, they started a wide offensive. Although some Soviet units were offering stiff resistance, the army as a whole was unable to withstand the German attack. Trotsky, Bukharin and the Left Communists were, however, against signing a peace-agreement with Germany, but Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov, who were in favour of an immediate peace, won the day, and on March 3 peace was signed in Brest-Litovsk between Soviet Russia and Germany and her allies. The Soviet Government obtained peace on very hard terms. While, in subsequent years, the Germans always whined about the harshness of the terms imposed on them by the Versailles Treaty, they never referred to the fact that when they were victorious they forced infinitely worse terms upon the vanquished Russians.

Lenin justified the peace at the time by saying: "It would be childish and naive to presume that any, even the worst, peace is under all circumstances abyss and ruin, while war means valour and salvation. The epochs of war teach us that in history peace often means a respite for gathering strength for new battles." And truly the Brest peace served as a respite for the Soviet Power, and the treaty itself was abrogated after the German revolution.

## CHANGE OVER TO SOCIALISM.

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TOGETHER with its fight against the counter-revolution the Soviet Government carried out during that period a gradual changeover from a capitalist to a Socialist system of society. The new administration had to overcome considerable opposition, particularly on the part of the higher State officials, who did their utmost to prevent the system from working. This sabotage and resistance from within was, however, crushed. The banks, which paid salaries to the striking officials, were taken over by the Government, and other methods were adopted to destroy the opposition. On November 20, 1918, more than a year after the establishment of the Soviet administration, the "All Russia Emergency Committee for the Struggle Against Counter-revolution and Sabotage" was organised, known under its abbreviation as the "Che-Ka," and it played no inconsiderable part in crushing opposition to the new administration.

During the first year of its power the Soviet Government had taken over the principal strategic positions in the national economy. The larger industrial concerns, the banking system, foreign trade, mercantile marine and other branches of the economy were in the hands of the Central Administration and running as national concerns. The Supreme Economic Council was formed to control and administer the national economy. The Soviet Government intended to use the brief respite, especially after the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, in order to begin building up the economic life of the country on the foundation of State ownership. At that time Lenin had already formulated the basic principles upon which he intended to build. These principles could, however, only be put fully into

practice after the conclusion of the Civil War. The intensification of the Civil War and of foreign intervention delayed for several years the beginning of the reconstruction and the building up of the country.

## CIVIL WAR AND INTERVENTION.

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IMMEDIATELY after the November Revolution an active campaign by foreign Powers also began, in support of the counter-revolutionary movement. This activity was determined partly by military and partly by political considerations. In view of the openly declared determination of the Bolsheviks to make peace as soon as possible, the Allied Governments feared that Germany might now be in a position to throw all her strength against the Western Front, and they therefore supported any military faction in Russia that announced its determination to continue the war against Germany. The continuation of this policy after the end of the war was justified by the Allies on the grounds that it was impossible to leave one's friends in the lurch after they are no longer required. Fear of Bolshevism was, however, the main determining factor of this policy.

As early as December 23, 1917, Great Britain and France had come to an agreement on the beginning of intervention and the division of the spheres of influence in Russia. The Don counter-revolutionary armies, as well as the Poles and Rumanians, were to be moved against the Soviet forces. But after the defeat of Kornilov and Kaledin, the Entente Powers entered upon open and direct intervention.

Japan made a beginning with the sending of a warship to Vladivostok in January, 1918. The Japanese had, however, to withdraw owing to the objections

raised by the United States. Only at a later stage did the Japanese resume the offensive in Siberia. The Germans invaded Belo-Russia and the Ukraine. In this they were assisted by the anti-Bolshevik Government of the Ukraine, who enabled them to occupy the whole province. The German troops then dissolved the Rada and proclaimed Skoropadsky the All-Ukrainian Hetman.

In Finland the Soviet Government was overthrown with the assistance of the counter-revolutionaries.

The German troops, in addition to their counter-revolutionary activities in the Ukraine, were also busy in the Don and Caucasus regions. The White Russian leaders who pretended to be indignant at the signing of the Brest-Litovsk pact, and stigmatised it as a betrayal of the Allies, in their turn eagerly accepted help from the Germans against the Soviet.

Simultaneously with the German occupation of Soviet territory the Allied Powers started a widespread intervention campaign. In April, British and Japanese troops landed at Vladivostok, and the White Army under General Semenov started its operations. This marked the beginning of the campaign for the Volga and Siberia.

In all these operations Czech troops in Russia participated. Czechoslovak divisions were formed in Russia by the Provisional Government in June, 1917, out of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war. In February, 1918, the Soviet Government consented to the request of the British and French Governments to allow these divisions to be sent to the Western front via Vladivostock. On the way there the Czech troops are alleged to have received instructions to attack the Soviets and assist the anti-Bolshevik forces. On April 25th the Czechs started their campaign and by August they had practically captured the whole of

Siberia, and a large part of the Volga area. The Czech army proclaimed the rule of the Constituent Assembly formed at Samara (now Kuibyshev) by Menshevik, Socialist Revolutionary and Constitutional Democratic members of that Assembly, who had fled to the Volga town.

In the summer of 1918 the Left Socialist Revolutionaries started a campaign for the cancellation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Germany. At the time of the November Revolution they had supported the Bolsheviks, and some Socialist Revolutionaries were even included in the first Council of People's Commissioners. After the Brest Treaty they started an active campaign against the Soviet Government. This campaign was particularly intensified on the organisation of Poor Peasant Committees in the villages, and the passing of laws against well-to-do peasants, the so-called "Kulaks." This party always favoured terrorist acts as an instrument of policy for the achievement of desired objectives, and on June 24th, 1918, the Central Committee of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries agreed upon the organisation of a series of terrorist acts against the representatives of German militarism. On July 6, they killed three leading members of the Che-Ka and penetrated, with the aid of forged documents, into the German Embassy, killing the Ambassador, Count Mirbach. At the same time a mutiny was started in the Che-Ka and in other Moscow detachments. The capital had been transferred to Moscow in March, 1918. The rebels arrested Dzerzhinsky, the chief of the Che-Ka, and a few other leading Bolsheviks, and issued a proclamation to the people on their *coup d'état*. This rising was, however, short lived; it was suppressed within one day.

On July 6, 1918, a counter-revolutionary rising occurred in Yaroslavl. On the same day revolts broke

out in Rybinsk, Murom, and in other towns. Further risings were planned for July 23 with a view to joining the British front which was then being formed in Murmansk with the Czecho-Slovak lines. This attempt was, however, frustrated. The rebellion in Yaroslavl was suppressed after a fortnight by Soviet troops which had arrived from other towns.

The advance of the White armies and the Czechoslovaks cost the ex-Tsar Nicholas II and his family their lives. Fearing that the advancing Whites might capture Ekaterinburg and get hold of the Tsar's family, which was detained there, the local Soviet decided to execute Citizen and Citizeness Romanov, their son and four daughters. During the night of July 18, 1918, the ex-Imperial family was told to go down to the cellar of the house in which they were kept. There they were shot. When the Whites occupied the town about a fortnight later, no trace of the bodies was found. Only jewels belonging to the ex-Tsaritsa were alleged to have been discovered in burnt patches of the woods outside the town.

### THE GOVERNMENT AT BAY.

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CONNECTED with the Left Socialist Revolutionary rising was also the defection, on July 11, of Muravyev, who commanded the Soviet troops against the Czechs. At the end of July British soldiers captured Onega and on August 2. Archangel, where the Supreme Administration of the Northern Province was set up. By the end of July the British had also taken Baku in the south. The White Russian army began to unfold its plan of campaign and, during July and August, took the Northern Caucasus.

The Soviet Government thus found itself beset on all sides by antagonists and its position was critical.

Synchronising with the attacks by the armies were also the activities of the terrorist organisation against leading Bolsheviks. On June 20 Volodarsky, Commissar for Press and Propaganda, was assassinated in Petrograd, and on August 29 the same fate befell Uritzky, President of the Petrograd Che-Ka. On the same day Lenin was severely wounded by Fanny Kaplan, a woman member of the Right Socialist Revolutionary party.

Cut off from all sources of supply of provisions, fuel and raw materials, the country was experiencing enormous hardship. The spectre of famine rose. There were days in 1918 when Moscow did not receive a single wagon of flour. The daily bread ration was reduced to about a quarter of a pound, and even this quantity could not be issued daily and was adulterated with all kinds of substitutes. The question of bread became the main preoccupation of the people and the Government, and the very existence of the new system seemed to depend upon it. An important part of the struggle for grain was played by the provisioning squads who were sent out from the famine-stricken areas for the purpose of bringing back grain supplies. In order to check speculation and to assure an equitable distribution, the free grain trade was prohibited. All grain was distributed in accordance with requirements and work performed. It was the efficient organisation of distribution of the very small supplies available that helped to save the system from collapse.

### **THE RED ARMY.**

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THE organisation of the Red Army was another important achievement of the period. On January 18th, 1918, a decree was published concerning the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. At

the outset the Army had been organised on the basis of voluntary service. But in July of the same year a resolution was passed by the Fifth Congress of Soviets for military mobilisation throughout the country. Experienced officers of the old army were called in to work under the control of political commissars. By the autumn of 1918 the Red Army numbered about 500,000 combatants and was gaining daily in numbers and strength.

On the northern front the Red Army stopped the attack of the Allied Powers against Vologda and Vyatka, and started an offensive against the Czechoslovaks.

During September and October the Central Volga region was captured and penetrations made into the Urals. A bitter struggle developed for the town of Tsaritsin (now Stalingrad), which is of great strategic importance. Krasnov had brought up large forces to the town, being anxious for a link between the Czechoslovaks and the Astrakhan and Ural Cossacks. There, under the personal guidance of Stalin, with Voroshilov in command, Krasnov's attacks were repulsed and his army shattered. In the winter of 1942 a similar fate was to befall the Nazi invaders on the same spot.

By the end of 1918 the November Revolution in Germany and Austro-Hungary enabled the Soviet Government to free the Ukraine and Belo-Russia from German occupation. In Lithuania and Estonia Soviet rule was proclaimed. On November 13th the All Russia Executive Committee passed a resolution cancelling the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

After their victory over Germany the Allied Powers were able to move larger forces against the Soviets. In addition to the northern intervention, an active campaign was started in southern Russia. In the south General Krasnov, who had collaborated with the

Germans, was now replaced by General Denikin as Supreme Commander. At the same time Admiral Kolchak accomplished a *coup d'état* in Siberia.

At the Paris Conference of Allied Powers on January 22, 1919, an invitation was issued to all existing Russian Governments to meet at a conference on Prinkipo Island. The Soviet Government gave its consent to attending, but Kolchak, Denikin and the other White Governments refused to participate, and the conference never met. During the years of Civil War the Soviet Government made repeated offers of peace and suspension of hostilities to all belligerents, but all its proposals were declined.

The establishment of Soviet Republics in Bavaria and Hungary inflicted serious breaches in the blockade policy which was being maintained against Soviet Russia. Disorders also began in the French Fleet as a protest against the intervention. In other countries, protests, demonstrations and strikes against the interventionist policy were increasing in number and intensity.

There was also obvious deterioration in the morale of the interventionists. Ultimately both Britain and France decided to remove their forces from Soviet territories, without, however, lifting the blockade. They continued to supply arms, ammunition and financial aid to the White armies.

In March, 1919, the Allies were compelled to evacuate Odessa, and in April, Archangel. The spring of that year was, however, marked by increased activities of the White armies. The renewal of the offensive was also accompanied by risings in widely separated parts of the land, like Orel, Samara, Bryansk, Simbirsk and in the Northern Caucasus. In June a revolt also broke out in Kronstadt, near Petrograd, but was quickly suppressed.

The White armies were enabled to develop an extensive campaign. The advancing forces of Kolchak were to join Denikin's army for a joint attack upon Moscow. But the whole spring offensive was shattered by the Soviet armies. Denikin's advance was arrested, Kolchak had been repulsed, and Yudenich driven back.

A new offensive was started in the autumn. Yudenich got as far as Pulkovo, which is only a few miles from Petrograd. On October 13 Denikin took Orel, which is but 200 miles from Moscow, and four days later he captured Novosil, in the Tula province, and thus advanced to the nearest point to the capital ever to be reached by the anti-Soviet forces. General Mayevsky asserted that he would be in Moscow with his armies not later than Christmas, and some Don capitalists actually offered a reward of a million roubles to the first regiment of the Volunteer Army to march into Moscow.

But the Soviets succeeded in defeating the well-equipped armies of Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin. Notwithstanding the almost complete economic breakdown caused by the cutting off from Russia of all the essential sources of fuel, food and raw materials, the Government was able to assure for the towns, and particularly for the army, a certain minimum of supplies. By means of mass mobilisation of trade union and Party members, workers were sent to the different fronts to fight against the White generals. The wise policy of granting absolute equality to all the national minorities, likewise exercised an important influence in the fight against the enemy. The Soviet Government carried out unswervingly the principle of complete self-determination of the numerous nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union, and this won sympathy and support.

The victory over the White armies inspired

a certain respect for the Soviet Union in the hearts of the neighbouring States. As a result of this change of attitude peace negotiations were started. Estonia was the first country to sign a peace treaty with the Soviets, in February, 1920. A fortnight earlier, the Allied Supreme Council, meeting in Paris, decided to raise the blockade of Soviet Russia.

### THE POLES AND WRANGEL.

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THE year 1920 saw, however, two new attacks launched against Soviet Russia. This time it was General Wrangel, who had entrenched himself in the Crimea, and Poland, a country to which the Soviet Government had at the very outset granted complete national self-determination even to the extent of total severance. Although Poland was given the chance of forming an independent State, she was nevertheless antagonistic to the Soviet.

Having received considerable quantities of war materials from France, and a food loan of 50 million dollars from the United States, the annexationist ambitions of the Polish Government grew proportionately to their increasing strength, and they demanded Belo-Russia, part of the Ukraine, a large cash indemnity, and the occupation of the Russian city of Smolensk as a guarantee.

The Soviet Government refused these extraordinary demands, and the Poles thereupon invaded the Ukraine and occupied Kiev in May, 1920. But their success was short-lived. In June Soviet cavalry retook the town, while another army, advancing from Smolensk, marched to the very gates of Warsaw without meeting any serious opposition. By the middle of August Warsaw was besieged by an advance column of Soviet troops. The Soviet success, however,

alarmed France and England, and Weygand was sent with a group of French officers to organise Polish resistance. With the aid of these officers and the supplies given to them, the Poles were enabled to repel the attack and drive back the Soviet troops.

Despite the retreat from Warsaw, Soviet Russia had attained the end she was fighting for: Poland had to give up the Ukraine and a considerable part of Belo-Russia, including Minsk, although she retained some 4,000,000 Ukrainians under her flag. To the Soviets the conclusion of peace was advantageous because it enabled them to concentrate their efforts against Wrangel, who had fortified his position and was actually threatening the Donetz Basin and even the Ukrainian territories on the western side of the Dnieper. The offensive launched by the Red Army stopped Wrangel's advance and compelled him to stand on the defensive in the region of Perekop, at the approach to the Crimea.

In the night of November 7, the third anniversary of the Revolution, the attack began on the Perekop position, and within a few days Wrangel's front, which had been considered impregnable, was broken by the Red Army. Wrangel and the remnants of his forces were evacuated on Allied ships to Constantinople. Thus ended, in utter failure, the last campaign of the White armies. It had cost the country millions of lives, untold suffering, and produced economic paralysis.

### THE LAND AND THE PEASANTS.

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AT the end of the Civil War the country was in a state of complete disorganisation and decay. Industry was practically at a standstill, the transport system had broken down and agriculture was suffering from the

accumulated ills of centuries, accentuated by the destruction during the preceding years.

During the Revolution the land was declared State property, but was left in the undisputed possession of the peasants. Only some of the large private estates and State properties were retained to be run as State or model farms. The rest of the land was shared out among the peasants who had acquired all the rights to the land except that of sale. But the position of the peasants was not improved as a result.

Owing to the lack of agricultural machinery and implements, the requisition of cattle and horses, as well as the deterioration and destruction that had taken place during the years of war and Civil War, the position of the agricultural population declined, although they now had more land to cultivate. War Communism also pressed heavily upon the peasants. While the country people had to surrender a large proportion of their harvest, which was necessary for the feeding of the armies in the field as well as the townspeople, the Government was not in a position to supply them with the industrial goods they required. This produced great dissatisfaction in the villages. The farmers reduced the area under cultivation, and endeavoured to conceal the harvested grain.

To combat this passive resistance, the Government tried to introduce class warfare into the villages, a measure which, incidentally, was largely responsible for the breakaway of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. The rural population was divided into three categories : Kulaks (rich peasants or exploiters), middle peasants and poor peasants. Committees of village poor were organised to assume village management and supervise the grain collections.

Only in some villages did the Government achieve the desired result. The congenital dislike of peasants

to pay taxes and the distrust entertained by Russian peasants for the Central Administration proved stronger than the envy or dislike they may have experienced for the Kulaks. Many of the poor and middle peasants, as is usual in villages, were either dependent upon the Kulaks, related to them, or were aspiring to join their number. Under these circumstances there could be no question of a completely united front of the poor and middle peasants against the few Kulaks all over the country.

The discontent of the villages was gradually penetrating into the army, as the vast majority of the troops were recruited from the countryside. In February, 1920, the Kronstadt naval garrison revolted. At practically the same time the peasants of Tambov rebelled and refused to yield the requisitioned grain. The Government had to send supplies of the goods required by the peasants to eliminate the discontent.

At the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party, held in March, 1921, it was decided on the proposal of Lenin, to substitute a graduated food tax for requisitions.

In 1921 a great famine broke out in Russia which affected chiefly the Volga area. Climatic conditions had ruined the autumn-sown grain and a prolonged drought in the early summer destroyed the spring sowing. About thirty million people were affected. The partial failure of the crops in the Ukraine and northern Caucasus precluded the Soviet Government from supplying the necessary assistance to the people. The American Relief Organisation and other foreign organisations were appealed to, and they undertook to feed approximately twelve million people, while the Soviet Government also provided for the needs of some twelve millions. Thus was a major catastrophe avoided. The number of deaths from cholera and

diseases of malnutrition was nevertheless very high.

A propaganda campaign was carried out to induce peasants to establish collective farms by pooling their resources. But on the introduction of the New Economic Policy, in 1921, which allowed private property and a certain amount of private trading in the towns, the pressure upon the peasants was relaxed. However, in 1928, with the abandonment of the New Economic Policy and the introduction of the Five-Year-Plan, a new drive was made for collectivisation. The original plan provided for the collectivisation of twenty per cent. of the existing farms during the five years 1928-32, but later the figures were raised to sixty per cent.

## STRUGGLE FOR COLLECTIVISATION.

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THE rich peasants, as was to be expected, resisted collectivisation by all the means in their power. Although the most active of the rural population they themselves would not have been dangerous, for they formed only a small minority, but, as we have seen, they enjoyed a considerable following among the middle and poorer peasants. The result was that a long struggle followed. The Government could not, in the nature of things, give in. To allow the existence of small farms would perpetuate backward farming. Also the political implications were serious. The small farmer is, in every country, one of the most stable conservative elements, and to allow some eighty-five per cent. of the population to remain individual owners of farms was a positive danger to the Socialist cities.

In many parts of the country over-enthusiastic administrators actually forced peasants to join the collective centres. This produced both discontent and confusion in the villages as well as among workers

whose parents had lost their farms because they were Kulaks. Stalin's article, "Dizziness with Success," published in March, 1930, helped to find a way out from this difficulty. The article condemned compulsory collectivisation as well as the creation of collective farms existing on paper only. Those who had been forced to join collective centres could now leave the farm and receive back their land, implements, cattle, and so on, which they had brought into the centre. Stalin maintained, however, the necessity of applying coercive measures against the Kulaks.

The Government did not abandon its collectivisation plan, but henceforth only peaceful methods were to be employed for its realisation.

In 1933, when the position in agriculture was critical and confused, the Communist Party decided upon a plan of action which turned out to be a great success.

It was decided to establish political sections at the 2,500 machine-tractor stations which existed at the time in the country. The best organisers of the Party were appointed as directors of these sections. Their duty was to see that Government decrees and orders were fully carried out. They were also to endeavour to increase the prosperity of the Russian villages.

An elaborate charter was drafted, clearly defining the relations of the farmers to each other and to the State. Each peasant on entering a collective centre retained his house, cow, chickens, a few pigs and a garden or allotment varying from one to several acres. The peasant was also free to dispose of his produce or the share he received from the centre in whatever way he liked. He could sell it to the State, the Co-operative or on the open market. The land of the collective centres was granted in perpetuity and could not be transferred or alienated.

All these measures, as well as the supply of agricultural machinery, tractors, harvesters and implements, which became possible as a result of the industrial development, reconciled the peasants to collectivisation, and before Hitler's attack more than ninety per cent. of the rural population were in collectives. Not only had this strengthened the Soviet Union by uniting the nation, but it was also of military advantage because hundreds of thousands of peasants had learnt to manipulate tractors and other complicated machinery, which was valuable training for service in the mechanised army.

The change over to collectivisation also resulted in a considerable raising of the standard of living in the villages, in larger crops, and in an improvement in the educational, health and cultural facilities available in the rural districts.

## INDUSTRIALISATION.

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THE other great problem that faced the Soviet Government at the end of the Civil War was the need for industrialisation. Indeed, industrialisation was the dominating problem, for without its solution it would have been impossible to reorganise agriculture, supply it with the requisite machinery and tractors, or provide the peasants with the necessary goods so as to induce them to give up their surplus grain for feeding the towns. Without a well developed industry it would also have been impossible to organise the defence of the country, a dangerous omission in the world of today. Industrialisation was also necessary for raising the standard of living of the population and for providing employment for the more than half a million excess inhabitants of the villages who have every year

was discovered in various parts of the country—in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, in Siberia and in the Far East. Oil and minerals were also located in a large number of new districts. The result was that in addition to extending and improving the old mining industry, production was started up in numerous fresh places.

New metallurgical centres were established in places where coal or metal deposits were discovered. The most important of these centres for the production of ferrous metals were Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk. Magnitogorsk in the Urals has large iron deposits and Kuznetsk, situated some 1,200 miles away has, what is perhaps the world's largest deposit of coking coal. Near these two deposits vast metallurgical concerns have arisen, producing pig iron, steel and rolled metal. Trains from Magnitogorsk which carried iron ore to Kuznetsk to augment the local supply brought on their return run, coal to help out that of the Urals.

The erection of these plants, in parts distant from the present battle front, has greatly contributed to the ability of the Soviet Union to maintain the supplies of vital war materials, when Hitler over-ran the chief metallurgical centre of the Donetz, in the Ukraine.

During the period from October, 1928, when the first Plan became operative, until Hitler's attack in June, 1941, several thousands of large industrial enterprises were started. These included machine and tractor building works, automobile factories, oil refineries, shipbuilding yards, power stations, aluminium works, non-ferrous metal plants, textile factories and other concerns as essential for the normal development of a country as for defence purposes in time of war. Millions of men were drawn into industry and learned for the first time to use and produce machinery and scientific instruments, which facilitated their training

for mechanised warfare.

The rapid industrialisation of the country could only be attained by overcoming very serious difficulties. It required, of course, large capital investments in the form of foreign loans or long-term investments. As these were not available for the Soviet Union, the country had to provide the means from its own resources. Imports were, accordingly, limited to things essential for the realisation of the industrialisation programme. Exports, on the other hand, had to be forced so that even goods needed in the country itself were being sent abroad to raise payment for the imports.

The technical backwardness of the country, and the absence of trained engineers and skilled workers, were other serious and costly difficulties. Foreign technicians and specialists had to be engaged at high salaries to come and train Soviet engineers and craftsmen.

However, all these difficulties were overcome, and before Hitler's invasion Soviet industry had assumed very large proportions, and in the production of certain commodities the Union had taken first place in Europe.

### THE SOVIET STATE.

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ON December 30, 1922, four Soviet Republics signed a treaty on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The signatories were:—the R.S.F.S.R. (Russia proper), the Ukraine, Belo-Russia (White Russia) and the Transcaucasian Federation. Nearly six months later, on June 6, 1933, a session of the All-Union Central Executive Committee adopted the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which was finally ratified by the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets of January 31, 1924.

This early Constitution did not embody the principle of universal, direct and secret suffrage. At that time the dispossessed classes (former rich and landowners) were still a force and it was regarded as dangerous to grant them full political rights.

In the years that elapsed between the ratification of the first Constitution and the adoption of the new Constitution by the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets on December 5, 1936, vast changes had occurred in the economic system of the country, in its class structure, in the relations between the different nationalities and between town and country. As a result of these changes it was possible to modify and extend the principles of democracy on which the system was based.

The predominance of small peasant economy, which was still the case in 1924, and the existence of private trade, had receded before the advance of collective farming and industrialisation. In 1936, the Soviet Union was covered with a dense network of factories, mills and mines. Large numbers of tractors, combines and other complex farming machinery were busy in the Russian countryside. Agriculture was socialised to the extent of more than ninety per cent. Private enterprise, with the exception of the remaining straggling individual farms, had entirely disappeared. All the means of production, distribution, communication, transport and banking were in the hands either of State or co-operative organisations, and the Constitution could be accordingly modified.

Under the old Constitution a section of the population was deprived of the right to elect or be elected to the organs of power. These restrictions applied to those who employed labour for profit, to the clergy, to people who had held Government appointments under the tsarist regime, and to officers in regiments

who had fought against the Soviets.

Another inequality was that the workers elected proportionately more representatives to the state bodies than the peasants. So long as the peasants cultivated their farms on the basis of small proprietorship they were regarded as politically unreliable. The introduction of collectivisation not only transformed the economic position of the peasants, of Soviet agriculture and of country life in general, but altered also the peasant mentality. The differentiation between workers and peasants, as far as constitutional rights were concerned, was abolished.

The new Constitution removed all restrictions and introduced universal suffrage for all citizens who have reached the age of eighteen. There are no restrictions on women or those serving with the forces. Every citizen has one vote and the right to be elected. Only lunatics and those who have been deprived of the right to vote by a decision of the court are barred from elections.

Under the new Constitution all the elections are direct, while under the old system only the local Soviets were based on the direct vote, and the supreme executive organs were elected indirectly.

The chief legislative power is vested in the Supreme Soviet, which consists of two Chambers—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The country has been divided into electoral districts on the basis of 300,000 inhabitants to one constituency for the election of the first body, while the Council of Nationalities is elected on an equalitarian basis. Every Union Republic, irrespective of the number of its inhabitants, sends ten deputies, every autonomous republic five and every autonomous region or area two deputies. There is complete equality between the two Chambers, and all laws must be passed by both to become effective.

Further changes were introduced in the Soviet Constitution at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet held in Moscow on February 1, 1944. These changes provide for the further democratisation of the system by the granting of greater freedom and scope for each of the sixteen Constituent Republics forming the Soviet Union. The new rights acquired by the individual republics in accordance with these decisions were as follows :—

1. The right to have its own national army formation;
2. The right to enter into direct negotiations with foreign Governments and to conclude agreements with them; and
3. The right to sever relations with the Soviet Union and to leave the Federation was more explicitly defined.

The right to nominate candidates for election belongs to the various social organisations and societies — the Communist Party, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations and cultural societies.

The only party permitted is the Communist Party, no other parties are tolerated. All others are classified as non-party.

In 1944, the Soviet Union was a Federation of sixteen Union Republics, some one hundred autonomous republics, regions and areas.

## SOVIET NATIONAL POLICY.

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THE ethnographic character of the population of the Soviet Union is extremely varied. The country is inhabited by nearly two hundred different races and tribes. More than 150 of these nationalities form

only small minorities of less than 20,000 persons each. The Slav races—Great Russians, Ukrainians and Belo-Russians predominate numerically, being some 140,000,000 out of the total of approximately 200,000,000, people in the U.S.S.R. The second place in importance after the Slavs is taken by Turkic tribes, who number some 25,000,000.

Before the Revolution official Russia recognised only one dominant nation, one official religion and one state language. Great Russians enjoyed privileges in the political, cultural and economic spheres, while many of the smaller nationalities were classified as people “of alien origin (inorodtsy) and were restricted in their rights.

Complete equality between all the races and nations inhabiting the country was introduced soon after the Revolution. Stalin, who was the first People's Commissar of Nationalities, was responsible for very valuable achievements in this field. The Soviet Constitution, adopted on December 5, 1936, further stabilised the position of the national minorities in this respect and safeguarded their rights. Article 123 of the Constitution reads:—

“Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an irrevocable law.

“Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or contempt, is punishable by law.”

Not content with fixing formal rights of equality of status the Government took the necessary steps to ensure the conditions essential for the establishing of

genuine equality of all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. Special efforts were made to raise the economic and cultural level of the different nationalities to the level of the most highly developed nation in the Union. Railways were built and air lines established to connect outlying territories containing these national minorities with the rest of the country in order to bring them in closer proximity to their fellow countrymen.

Another important change in this direction was the transformation of the former Empire into a federation. The provision of elaborate minority legislation guarantees to every national community, however small, the right to administrative and cultural autonomy, and safeguards their national sovereignty.

No attempt is made in the Soviet Union at political cultural or lingual oppression of the minority peoples. In the past European influence on the indigenous population of the East had taken the form of the imposition of an outside culture through the medium of a foreign language.

The political and cultural activity of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, is carried on in the languages of the indigenous people and is directed towards stimulating the growth of their own culture and enriching their literature. Scientific organisations are being set up, encouraged and stimulated to further research into their national history and past traditions.

This activity has inspired new life and galvanised the ambition in each people to promote national culture. Nations became aware of their own value, they were fired with a belief in their mission, and were animated with a new vitality.

Each nation of the Soviet Union not only enjoys the right to use its own mother tongue, but everything is

being done by the Government to develop these languages formerly hampered by the tsarist administration. The Soviet State does not recognise the right of any nation to impose its language as the one and only instrument of speech. Every national minority has the right to use its own language in the legislative bodies in the Government administration, in the schools, courts of law and in all transactions of the State. Language has thus ceased to be a subject of policy and has consequently been deprived of its emotional appeal in politics.

### PEOPLE OF THE ARCTIC.

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The Soviet Arctic, which occupies nearly one half of the entire Arctic region is inhabited by twenty-six different nationalities with a total of 410,000 people. The principal of these races are the Nenets (Eskimos) Yakuts, Aleuts, Chukchi, Evenki, Saami, Koryaks and Tungus. These simple people were fast disappearing prior to the Revolution. Hunger, disease and alcohol created havoc among them. Prolonged periods of famine often decimated whole districts.

Regular provision for the welfare of the northern peoples was first introduced in 1924, when the Northern Committee was set up. Since that time a great deal has been done to improve their cultural and economic position. Schools, hospitals and welfare centres have been established, and many of the local people have been trained to administer and take up posts in these institutions. Hospitals are also doing valuable work by instructing the natives on questions of hygiene and health.

Not one of these nationalities had formerly a written alphabet, and there were few literate persons among

them. Before the Revolution there were only fifteen schools for the whole Russian Arctic, which were run by missionaries and in which the teaching was in the Russian tongue. Between the years 1924 and 1936 some 500 schools were established and alphabets drawn up for the various dialects. In 1938 more than fifty per cent. of the children were attending school, despite the enormous difficulties arising from the sparsity of the population and their nomadic way of life.

Useful work has been accomplished in the development of the written language of these peoples. Good use has also been made of the cinema and wireless for educational and cultural purposes. As a result of these changes the condition of the people had been improved and the continuous decrease in the population has not only been arrested, but an actual increase is now taking place. Their primitive nomadic existence is drawing to a close, and a new culture is arising in these formerly very backward communities.

### THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL ASIA.

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SOVIET Central Asia stretches from the Pamirs to the Caspian Sea and comprises five Union Republics—the Kazakh, Turkmen, Tajik, Uzbek and Kirghiz Socialist Soviet Republics—and a number of autonomous areas and regions. Just as the excessive cold was exercising an arresting influence on the economic and cultural life of the peoples of the North, so the arid climate of this most southern part of the country was impeding normal development and progress.

This huge area is poor in water. Its rainfall is scanty and this part of Central Asia had to rely on snow and glacier-fed streams for its main water supply. For centuries water had been a matter of

life and death to these people. Life flourished in places where mountain torrents forced their way into valley fields, and death reigned supreme where the ground was scorched and barren. Such land, burnt and infertile, stretches for thousands of miles between the green oases.

The struggle for water milestones the history of this land. Ruins of settlements which flourished many years ago and later had to be abandoned by their inhabitants because the water supply failed, can be encountered in the steppes to this day.

To assuage this age-long thirst of the land a number of canals have been constructed during the last decade which have converted millions of acres of arid waste into flourishing cotton plantations.

The building up of a textile industry, the erection of new towns, railways, highways, electric power stations and the provision of the amenities of modern civilised life, have produced an entire transformation in this ancient and semi-primitive land. New highways link the towns to the villages lost in the oases, in the mountains and in the fertile valleys, where the cotton fields are spreading out, bringing a new culture with schools, libraries, clubs, theatres, cinemas and hospitals to the recently primitive nomads.

## PEOPLE OF THE CAUCASUS.

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The Caucasus has a larger conglomeration of races and nations than any other area in the world of similar size. In the past there was much strife among these people locked in the mountain passes and valleys between the Black and Caspian Seas. At present the country is organised in three Union Republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, and a number of

autonomous republics, regions and areas, and there is peaceful collaboration among the people.

Great changes have taken place in the Caucasus since 1928. Georgia has established a chain of Hydro-electric stations which supply cheap energy to her towns, villages and industrial enterprises. The obtaining of manganese, the chemical, machinery and light industries have been greatly developed and the republic has become the main centre in the Soviet Union for the cultivation of tea, citrous fruit and other sub-tropical plants.

Similar growth has taken place in Azerbaijan. Its principal oil centre, Baku, has trebled its output. Many new refineries have been built and a mechanical and machine-building industry set going. Hydro-electric stations have been erected in many parts of the country and a fresh industrial centre organised in Kirovabad. Agriculture had also been modernised and extended, and the growing of cotton and citrous fruits greatly developed.

The third Union Republic of the Caucasus, Armenia, has also become the focus of considerable development. Its copper mines have been reconstructed and modernised. The first synthetic rubber plant in the Soviet Union was built in Armenia. Other constructions include hydro-electric stations, machine building, food and light industries.

Similar expansion has taken place since 1928 in many of the other outlying parts of the Soviet Union—in the Far East, in Siberia, and on the Volga, as well as in the Ukraine, Belo-Russia and in the other republics and areas of the national minorities. As a result of these innovations the lives of the people have undergone appreciable improvement, while human enterprise, education and cultural progress have been greatly stimulated.

These economic and cultural changes also produced political results which proved their worth when Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R. In the past the national minorities of the Russian Empire were not conspicuous for their loyalty to the State that had enslaved them, and during the first Great War the Russian Government had to deal with considerable internal discontent and even actual risings. In the second World War the minor nationalities proved themselves amongst the most loyal and enthusiastic supporters of the Soviets and the Allied cause.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

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The foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union can best be understood from an examination of the international outlook of the people who control the State.

The Bolshevik creed is based on the fraternity of all nations. It is against all international hatreds, animosities and rivalries, and in favour of co-operation among the people. The Bolsheviks realise, nevertheless, that this fraternity cannot be acquired ready-made, but can only be created by the people themselves, of their own free will.

Hence the desire to see all countries free and co-operating on terms of absolute equality. Any presumption of the superiority of one race over another is entirely absent from Soviet mentality.

The Soviet Government have continually proclaimed their desire for peace. Bent on building a new social order in their country, they know that for the achievement of this objective foreign wars can only be a hindrance.

In pursuit of this policy the Soviet Union was ready to make heavy sacrifices. In 1918, the Government

signed the peace treaty with Germany at Brest-Litovsk, and they were ready to make peace with the Counter-revolutionary armies, who were being sponsored by foreign powers. It was the Whites, however, who refused to negotiate.

The Soviet peace overtures were not a sign of weakness, because after these had failed the White armies were completely defeated. At the start of the Polish invasion in 1920, the Government offered Poland very advantageous terms of peace, but the Poles preferred to continue the war, and finally they had to agree to conditions inferior to those first offered them.

The Soviets were ready to make all possible concessions in order to secure peace for the constructive work they wanted to accomplish. At times they even made territorial sacrifices. But with the growth of Soviet strength, although their desire for peace had not diminished, the extent of their yielding was reduced. Stalin has summarised the Soviet attitude in the following words: "We do not covet a single inch of foreign soil, but not an inch of our land shall be yielded to an invader."

The Soviet Government began concluding treaties of friendship and neutrality as soon as the other countries were ready to do so. The treaty with Turkey was signed in 1925 and with Germany in 1926. These treaties provided only for neutrality if the other contracting party should become engaged in a conflict.

The next stage in this development was the signing of non-aggression pacts with a number of countries. These pacts included a definite understanding of each signatory Government not to begin hostilities against the other, and were based on the Kellog-Briand Pact.

In 1933 a new type of pact, containing a definition of aggression, was suggested by the Soviet Union. Such agreements were signed by them with several

of their immediate neighbours. Another agreement was signed with the countries of the Little Entente, with Turkey participating, and a third with Lithuania.

General disarmament was advocated by the Soviet Union as far back as the Genoa Conference, when Lenin was still directing the affairs of the Socialist State. At the Disarmament Conference of 1928, the Soviet Delegation made definite disarmament proposals, and when these failed to get support, a programme for partial reduction of armaments was submitted. Although supported by the U.S.A., the other nations were not prepared to accept this policy of gradual disarmament.

While proclaiming their peaceful intentions, the Soviet Government also made it abundantly clear that they are not pacifists who stand for peace at any price. When the proposals for a general agreement on disarmament or for the reduction of armaments was turned down by the other States, the Soviet Government began to concentrate its attention on defence.

The spectre of war, and particularly the possibility of having to wage single-handed a war on the eastern and western fronts simultaneously, haunted the Soviet Government and people for some years. Since 1931, this danger had become more acute in the east by the Japanese conquest of Manchuria. The elimination of the buffer state between the Soviet Union and Japan had brought the danger much closer. The sale to Manchoukuo of the Soviet share in the Chinese Eastern railway, which was finally concluded in 1935, after long negotiations, brought to an abrupt end the Soviet sphere of influence in Northern Manchuria, but it was welcomed because it removed at least one source of friction between the Soviets and the State of the Rising Sun.

In Europe, too, ominous changes had taken place

which necessitated a change of policy. The emergence of Hitler as the ruler of Germany threatened the Soviet Union with grave possibilities. As a result its previous policy of refusal to participate in the League of Nations was reversed, and the U.S.S.R. became a member with a seat on the council. This happened in September, 1934. The common danger also drew together France and the Soviet Union, and a military alliance was concluded between them in the spring of 1935.

Before coming to power in 1917, the Bolsheviks had put up the demand for "an immediate peace without annexation and without indemnities, and a peace based on open diplomacy involving the abrogation of all the secret treaties." To prove their sincerity in this matter, on coming to power they actually published all the secret treaties. But they discovered after a time that diplomacy is a game you cannot play alone, and in the world as it is one has to adapt one's principles to grim realities.

The nightmare of European politics since the advent of Hitler seemed to have enveloped, for a time, the whole world. An unscrupulous adventurer, Hitler cleverly exploited Europe's fear of the "Communist danger" in his scheme to subjugate first Europe, and then the rest of the world. And his future victims manfully assisted him to rearm and so assure their own doom. They also helped him financially and politically, and by surrendering to him one strategic position after another without a struggle. No attempt was made to call a halt to his depredations. Russia exposed this tide of political blindness and intellectual aberration. But all was in vain. The Soviet efforts to strengthen the League of Nations and make it into a real instrument of Peace were thwarted. The crime against Abyssinia, the open assistance to Franco, the throwing of Austria to the wolves, and ultimately the

betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia were symptoms of the malady which seemed to have seized Europe.

All this opened the eyes of the Soviet Union. If they had harboured any illusions about Europe's desire to set its house in order, they were now dissipated. It was realised that until such time as a European consciousness is born Russia would have to act alone if the Soviet Union was to survive. Litvinov, the Foreign Commissar, who was personally completely identified with the effort at European collaboration, saw his world crumbling, and resigned. The stage was now set for attempts in a different direction.

Although it was fast approaching the eleventh hour, the long and tedious negotiations for an agreement on joint action between Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. were dragging along interminably. Finally, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet, Zhdanov, felt constrained to publish a letter in the Soviet Press to express "his own private opinion." He protested against the delay, and informed the Soviet public that "of the seventy-five days the negotiations had already lasted the Soviet Government required sixteen to prepare answers to various British drafts and proposals, whereas the rest of the fifty-nine days passed in delays and procrastinations on the part of the British and French."

In the midst of all these pourparlers the sudden announcement of August 21st that Ribbentrop was coming to Moscow to sign a non-aggression pact came like a thunderbolt from a blue sky. The Bolsheviks and the Nazis forgot all that they had said about each other in their unexpected discovery that the two States could exist side by side and collaborate on a peaceful basis. All this was very touching, but few people actually believed in it. Certainly not the Soviet Government with their knowledge of Hitler's past, and

the value that could be placed on his promises. They obviously wanted a little more breathing space to prepare for the attack which they knew would come.

History will apportion praise or blame for the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, signed on August 24, 1939, about a week before the German invasion of Poland, which set the world ablaze. Marshal Voroshilov, in an interview with the newspaper *Investia*, declared at the time: "During the staff conversations with Britain and France, the Soviet Delegation had argued that to be able to give effective aid to them, Soviet troops would have to enter Polish territory, but the Anglo-French Mission did not agree with this thesis, and the Polish Government had declared that they would not accept military help from the U.S.S.R. That made military co-operation impossible."

The complete collapse of all Polish resistance to Germany within the first fortnight, even if expected, was a sore disappointment to the Soviet Union. Within a few days German troops could be expected on the Russian frontiers and knowing Hitler, one could never be sure what he would do next, pact or no pact. So the Soviet Government decided to steal a March on him. On September 17, Soviet forces crossed the Polish frontier at many points between Polotsk and Kamenetz-Podolsk, having previously informed the Polish Government of their intended action. The Soviet wireless service broadcast a summary of the Note to Poland, which stated that Soviet action was necessary to safeguard their own interests and to protect the Belo Russian and Ukrainian minorities. This action was consistent with neutrality in the Polish-German conflict. The Polish State could not be regarded as still existing; therefore all treaties with it were invalid. The Soviet motive was to restore peace

and order in Eastern Poland and to take over the protection of the Russian population.

After the final delimitation of frontiers between Germany and the Soviet Union, Russia was left with control over the mainly forested and agricultural area inhabited predominantly by Belo Russians and Ukrainians. The Poles in the Russian area were widely scattered, and lived chiefly in the Wilno district, which the Soviet Government shortly afterwards handed over to Lithuania. The Soviet Union thus took under its control a population akin to its own people, and principally of the agricultural and labouring class.

Danger was also threatening the Soviet Union from the north-west, where a German occupation of the three Baltic States would have represented a serious menace. In October, 1939, the representatives of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were summoned to Moscow and requested to permit the establishment of Soviet naval, military and air bases within their territories, and treaties were accordingly signed. Shortly afterwards all three republics became members of the Soviet Federation. An agreement previously made with Germany had provided for the transfer of the German population from the territory of the three republics. These Germans were not moved to the old German Reich but were settled in German-occupied Poland, in the homes of dispossessed Poles, who had to leave all their belongings behind when they were transferred by the Germans to other destinations.

## WAR WITH FINLAND.

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IT was obvious that the Soviet Union was not afraid of an attack by Finland. But owing to the proximity of Finnish soil to Leningrad (the nearest point being

only some twenty-five miles away), and the fact that Finland could never prevent Germany from using the country as a spring-board for an attack, the Soviet Government reverted to the old policy of securing strategic positions.

Demands were therefore made to Finland for the cession of several key points necessary for the defence of Leningrad, offering in compensation large territories in Karelia long coveted by Finland, as well as an indemnity.

Finland protracted the negotiations which, rightly or wrongly, was regarded in the Soviet Union as playing for time. On November 28, 1939, the Russian Government therefore denounced the treaty of non-aggression with Finland and on the following day broke off diplomatic relations.

On November 30 Soviet troops crossed the Finnish frontier at several points, and a new episode in the unhappy relations between the two neighbouring countries had started.

Although the Finnish defences were smashed and the Soviet Government could have dictated terms and established a government favourable to itself it did not interfere in any way with the political organisation of the Finnish State, and left everything intact. The Soviet forces evacuated the Petsamo district, leaving the nickel mines in Finnish territory. Finland only had to surrender the areas essential to the defence of Leningrad and to lease the Hango peninsula with the islands situated in that area for thirty years at an annual rent of eight million marks. A Soviet military base was then constructed there. All the newly incorporated parts were joined to Karelia, and the Karelo-Finnish Socialist Soviet Republic was formed.

## RECOVERY OF BESSARABIA.

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ANOTHER move was made by the Soviet Government to protect Southern Ukraine from an attack through Rumania.

The question of Bessarabia is a long and thorny one. We have seen how this territory has changed hands during the nineteenth century. Originally it formed part of the autonomous principality of Moldavia under the Ottoman Empire, until it was ceded to Russia in 1812, by a treaty signed in Bucharest.

During the century that Bessarabia was in Russian hands the area became largely Russianised. Economically, too, all the ties were with Russia and not with Rumania. The latter country was neither in a position to absorb the exports from Bessarabia, consisting of grain and wine, nor was she able to supply its requirements. There were no transport facilities with Rumania, but only with Russia. A considerable portion of the rural population was, however, Wallachian, while the town population was predominantly Russian, Polish and Jewish.

During the Civil War in Russia an autonomous Moldavian-Bessarabian Republic was formed, which declared its independence in January, 1918. On March 9, 1918, a Rumanian-Soviet agreement was reached, providing for a withdrawal of the Rumanian troops which had entered the area after the declaration of its independence. The troops, however, were not withdrawn, and on November 17 the country was formally annexed by Rumania.

No outside Power recognised this annexation at the time, though some eighteen months later the Supreme Allied Council decided to recognise the *de facto* position. The Soviet Union, the United States and Japan never recognised this annexation.

Such was the position of the Bessarabian problem when, on June 26, 1940, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, Molotov, handed to the Rumanian Minister in Moscow a Note demanding the immediate cession of Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina, giving Rumania twenty-four hours for reply. On the following day Rumania announced her acceptance of the Soviet demands. Thus, after twenty-two years of occupation, the disputed territory reverted to Russia, and it was proclaimed a federal republic under the name of the Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic.

While taking all these precautionary measures the Soviet Government was strenuously endeavouring not to give offence to Germany and to avoid being involved in the war. This policy succeeded whilst Hitler was busy finishing France and establishing himself in the Balkans. By June 22, 1941, all his preparations for an attack against the Soviet Union were completed, and with his customary disregard for his promises, treaties and obligations, he ordered his armies to attack without declaring war.

### **HITLER ATTACKS**

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AT three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, June 22, 1941, Hitler made a new bid for world power by launching his long prepared and carefully planned offensive against the Soviet Union.

At the time of this attack Hitler was confident that he had Britain at his mercy and that he was in a position to inflict upon her the *coup de grâce* when he was so minded. The war on the Continent was finished in so far as military operations by his sole remaining antagonist, Britain, was concerned. It was only necessary to deny England her supplies by an intensified submarine campaign in order to reduce her to

submission. He could therefore usefully employ his vast and idle army for the great stroke that would seal Germany's bid for world domination. He must have the coal, iron, oil and manganese resources as well as the grain belt of the Soviet Union. Europe deprived of her industries, unable to produce the munitions to continue the struggle, would then be at Germany's mercy for centuries. Hitler's thousand year Reich was within sight.

To the Soviet Union the blow came to some extent as a surprise, although they had been warned by the British Government. The Germans tried to justify their treacherous behaviour by the customary "alibi"; they merely anticipated an attack by "immense Russian armies"! But they gave the lie to this assertion in their first official report of the fighting by announcing that the Russians were caught in "the act of deployment."

In addition to acquiring Russia's mineral resources and grain, a victory over the U.S.S.R. could have enabled Hitler to disrupt the British Empire. A successful attack through the Caucasus could secure for him the mastery over Turkey, Iran, Iraq, the Suez Canal, and have brought him to the frontiers of India.

Hitler had naively conceived the "idea" of securing Britain's own co-operation for her ultimate destruction. On May 10, six weeks before his attack, he had sent his deputy, Rudolf Hess, to trick Britain into a scheme to assist him to destroy Russia. A wrong landing, however, sealed the fate of this mission and left Hitler to speculate as to the attitude of Britain.

Mr. Churchill's broadcast on the very first day of the war against Russia dispelled all Hitler's illusions on this count.

Long before he struck, Hitler had completed the concentration of his armed forces on the Soviet frontiers.

With her long distances and inadequate communications, it normally took Russia between five and six weeks to carry out her mobilisation. Knowing this, Hitler had hoped to knock her out of the struggle before she could put on her armour.

The Russian frontier line from the White Sea to the Black Sea is about 1,800 miles, and Hitler had concentrated some 200 divisions for the attack. The advantage was, of course, with the attackers, because it is impossible to organise a line of defence of that length. Russian strategy was based on holding natural defensive positions, such as fortresses and river lines. The main defence was, however, a fortified area on the old Russian frontier. While the Russians had to hold a long front, the Germans could concentrate overwhelming forces at any single sector to effect a break through.

The attacking forces were split into three army groups. The northern armies were under the supreme command of Marshal von Leeb, the central armies were under the supreme command of Marshal von Bock, and the southern armies under Marshal von Rundstedt. A fourth army group, consisting of German and Finnish divisions, under General Falkenhorst and Marshal Mannerheim, was operating further north between the Baltic and the White Sea.

The *Luftwaffe* opened the attack by raids on Soviet aerodromes nearest to the frontiers, in accordance with the Douhet plan. The main attack was delivered by the armies moving towards the frontiers at 3.0 a.m.

The attack through Lithuania was directed towards Grodno, Lomza, Vladimir-Volynsk and Stojanov, and each of these thrusts achieved some initial success, although the Germans had to pay a heavy price. Fierce counter-attacks temporarily drove the invaders back, but they continued to advance.

At the end of the second day Grodno was taken, and on the third Vilno, capital of Lithuania, was occupied. The control of Vilno opened for the Germans the way to two important strategic centres, Dvinsk, in the north, and Baranowicze, in the south.

On the third day the Germans also captured the Brest-Litovsk fortress by bringing up their heaviest siege artillery and reducing the main defences.

In the Volyn sector the Germans launched heavy tank attacks against Luck. The battle was fought interminably day and night, and in the second week of the struggle the enemy succeeded in taking the town. Luck had to wait for its liberation from the invader till February, 1944.

North of the Pripet Marshes panzer formations succeeded in crossing the strip of land which had been in Russian occupation since 1939, and they attacked the armies defending Minsk.

In the south the course of the struggle was much more satisfactory for the defending forces. An attempt by the Germans to cross the river Pruth and invade Bessarabia was smashed, while a Rumanian attack upon Cernowitz in the Bukovina was repulsed with heavy losses. All the enemy attempts to advance during the first week were repulsed, and the Soviet Air Force succeeded in inflicting damage to the Rumanian oil refineries at Ploesti.

Minsk, centre of one of the three Russian military districts, was encircled by the Germans on June 30, after terrific tank battles. It was the deepest enemy penetration and involved the abandonment of a headquarters in which the military organisation of the area was concentrated. Moreover, this area was within the Stalin defence line and on the road to Smolensk and Moscow. Its loss was a serious blow to the Soviet defenders.

Throughout this campaign the Russian struggle never degenerated into a merely defensive war. Enemy attack was followed by counter attack and both sides suffered heavy losses in men, tanks and material.

After Minsk the Germans developed a thrust in the centre towards Moscow as well as towards the north. Although the western stretch of the Dvina was held stubbornly, the Germans succeeded in taking Dvinsk, and when Riga was occupied on July 1 the river line had to be abandoned by Soviet troops.

On July 1 the Germans reached the Beresina at Bobruisk, but all their efforts to cross the river were beaten back.

On the central front and in the south the Germans meanwhile succeeded in advancing their lines and had broken into Bessarabia, but on July 8 they were driven back across the Pruth.

By July 10 the first impetus of the German attack had spent itself, and although bitter fighting continued it lacked the violence of the first 18 days of the struggle. The Russians made good use of the time to expedite the mobilisation of their forces, and they still held the enemy before practically all the major strategic points. Even in the areas overrun by Germans isolated pockets of resistance remained in their rear pinning down large enemy forces and denying to the enemy the use of the railway lines.

## RUSSIA ORGANISES

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ON July 11 the Soviet Government announced that the front was to be divided into three sectors: the North-Western under the command of Marshal Voroshilov; the Western under Marshal Timoshenko; and the South-Western under Marshal Budyonny. Two

days later another important announcement was made. An agreement had been signed with Great Britain which came into force immediately by which the two countries pledged themselves neither to negotiate nor to conclude a separate peace, and promised each other every kind of assistance and support in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany.

This historic agreement, signed in Moscow on July 12 by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of Great Britain and M. Molotov for the Soviet Union, converted Russia from a co-belligerent into an Ally, and was a great step forward in co-ordinating the struggle against the Nazis.

The Germans misjudged the military situation as much as the political. Although they were still fighting outside Russia's actual frontiers, they announced to the world on July 12 that the road to Moscow was open, that their troops were advancing on Leningrad in the north and were about to occupy Kiev in the south! There were supposed to be signs of disintegration of the Russian army and no further barriers to hold up the advance of the invincible conqueror.

A German attempt to land troops behind the Russian lines in the Baltic was smashed by a combined operation of the Soviet fleet and Red Air Force. Thirteen out of the 50 transports and two destroyers were sunk and the remainder scattered. On land the Germans managed, however, to accomplish a break through from Ostrov to Pskov after a week of fierce battles in which they lost heavily in men and tanks. The Germans also managed to secure a foothold on both sides of the Dvina at Polotsk on the road to Vitebsk and Smolensk.

The Northern road to Smolensk being blocked to the Germans they concentrated south of Orsha, where they managed to cross the Dnieper. The advancing army divided there into two columns: one moving in a north-easterly direction towards Smolensk and the

second in a southerly direction towards Mohilev. Rogachev and Zhlobin were reached and occupied, but the Germans were driven out a few days later. When they subsequently recaptured these towns they managed to hold them until the great Russian drive of February, 1944.

The occupation of Vitebsk threatened Smolensk also from the north. After weeks of intense struggle this important strategic centre had to be abandoned by the Russians.

In the southern sector Budyonny's forces offered such fierce resistance that the three armies under Rundstedt's supreme command could make no headway, and a fourth army was dispatched to his succour. This new army succeeded in crossing the middle Dniester and joining up with the forces advancing from the north, a move that also assisted the Hungarian advance to the river Bug. In spite of the numerical and tactical advantages enjoyed by Rundstedt's armies it took him a whole month of heavy fighting to occupy Bessarabia and reach the lower Dnieper.

The Germans were nonplussed by the whole course of the struggle. They had hoped that as soon as a Russian unit was bypassed, outflanked or surrounded, it would capitulate, instead of which the surrounded units continued the struggle until their ammunition was gone, and then they only surrendered if they could not escape to continue the struggle as guerillas. As a result of such tactics all traces of a battle front or front disappeared. Not only did the guerillas immobilise large enemy forces, but by destroying supplies and lines of communication they greatly harassed the German advance.

A major part in the struggle was played by the Soviet Air Force. Without the most active and continuous collaboration of the Air Force the defenders

might not have been able to withstand the sudden impact of the mightiest army in the world. The Red Navy also rendered valuable service at the critical stage of the struggle before the Russian armies were fully mobilised by covering the flanks of the army and co-operating with the land forces in every possible way.

The Russian losses in men and material in the first months of the war were, of course, very heavy, and much greater than those of the Germans. A retreating army has often to abandon or destroy vast quantities of material, including tanks, motorised vehicles and guns.

Early in August of 1941 Mr. Churchill held a Conference with President Roosevelt to hammer out the Atlantic Charter. The two statesmen sent a joint message to M. Stalin suggesting a Conference in Moscow to discuss the best possible use of available and potential war supplies. This offer of help could not have been more timely in view of Russia's enormous losses. Two days later M. Stalin replied thanking the Governments of both countries and welcoming the proposal for a Three-Power Conference in Moscow.

On the same day an Anglo-Soviet Agreement was signed in Moscow under which the British Government granted the Soviet Union a credit of £10 million for five years. It was agreed that when this credit was exhausted the Governments would negotiate for a further sum.

Joint collaboration of the two States became necessary at that time also in Iran. The presence of large numbers of German "specialists and tourists" in Iran was fraught with serious danger to the Allies, and on August 16, 1941, the British and Soviet Governments presented a memorandum to the Iranian Government requesting the latter to expel a large number of German Intelligence Service Agents and other plotters then in

the country and working against the Allies. As this warning remained unheeded British and Soviet forces entered the country on August 25, Axis diplomats were expelled; other Axis nationals were handed over to British and Soviet authorities for internment. A new Government was formed in Iran to which a pledge was given that the two Governments had no designs on Iranian territory or independence, and that their troops would be withdrawn as soon as the danger threatening Iran, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had been removed.

The objective of the German High Command in the first months of the Russian campaign was not merely the occupation of territory, but the destruction of the Soviet armies. The lesson of Napoleon, who had succeeded in occupying large stretches of Russian territory but was nevertheless destroyed by the Russian armies was not lost upon the German strategists. They regarded even the reaching of their three main objectives—Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev—chiefly as a means to that end. The capture of Leningrad would not only have exposed the northern flank of the main Russian concentration but would have deprived the army of an important source of supply. It may have led also to the destruction of the fleet. The capture of Moscow would have deprived the army of its second largest source of supplies in addition to cutting the main army of the centre into two, when each part could have been dealt with in turn. But Kiev was regarded as the Germans' most vital objective. In addition to destroying the large forces accumulated for its defence, Kiev was the key to the gateway of the Ukraine, with its rich coal, iron and manganese deposits, huge industrial plants and enormous grain fields. The Ukraine in its turn is a pathway to the enormous oil resources of the Caucasus and the Middle East.

For these reasons the Germans concentrated their main attention on the southern front and entrusted the leadership there to their ablest generals. By vastly superior forces, prodigious effort and enormous losses, the Germans did achieve on this front spectacular victories, but they were as far from their real objective of destroying the Soviet army as ever. Each of their victories only led to fresh battles and necessitated more strenuous efforts to maintain and supply their armies.

The failure to secure a quick decision forced the Germans to change their tactics during their first autumn campaign. Places now became their objectives. The growing probability of having to winter in Russia was no doubt one of the prime causes of this change. They sought towns in important strategic positions with warm quarters.

German tanks reached the outskirts of Smolensk on July 16, and the Germans hastened to announce to the world the capture of this important city. There was, however, bitter fighting for this prize for another three weeks during which time Smolensk changed hands several times before the enemy could rightly claim its capture.

The capture of Kiev on September 19, was another of the German major successes in the first year of the campaign. The whole southern front was then in a critical position. Odessa was encircled, Krivoy Rog, Kirovograd, and Pervomaisk in enemy hands, Kherson was captured and Nikolaev had to be abandoned. A similar fate overtook the great metallurgical centre of Dnepropetrovsk, while the great dam and electric plant near that city had to be blown up.

The carrying out of the "scorched earth" policy, adopted on the Government's orders at the very outset of the invasion, prevented the enemy from collecting the loot he expected. Everything of value that could

not be moved to the rear was destroyed.

The fall of Pskov had opened for von Leeb the road west to Estonia and north to Leningrad, and he launched attacks in both directions. For this double task his armies were fortified by 20 fresh divisions, including 5 panzer divisions and other motorised units. His main thrust was directed against the former capital, and so great was its impetus that it brought him within 20 miles of the city, where he secured a footing by the capture of Pushkino (Detskoye Selo) and Krasnogvardeisk (Gatchina).

While Voroshilov was appealing to the citizens of Leningrad to fight for their city to the last man, von Leeb issued an order of the day on September 11 that Leningrad must be taken in the next few days at all costs.

A few days later Leningrad was cut off from the rest of the country, and the tragic siege began which lasted for two years, and had cost the city hundreds of thousands of lives. But all the enemy attempts to overwhelm the city's defences were frustrated by the heroism and determination of its defenders.

On October 1 Hitler ordered a general attack over an 800 miles front stretching from the Valday Hills to the Black Sea. He was so sure of the result of the attack that he celebrated victory in advance. In an Order of the Day issued under his signature on October 2, he informed the Germans that: "To-day is the beginning of the last great decisive battle of the year," and promised them an operation that "will annihilate this enemy, and with him the instigator of the whole war, England herself." How dismally he failed is now a matter of history.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CAPITAL

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MOSCOW was another of the main Nazi objectives because of strategic considerations and industrial significance. From Moscow roads and railways radiate in all directions, and the capture of the city would have disrupted communications throughout the country. But the moral and political effect of the fall of the capital would have been tremendous.

The capture of Orel, 200 miles south of Moscow, on October 6, was a serious blow, and cut the direct line with Kharkov. With the capture of Bryansk on October 12 and Vyazma on the following day the position rapidly deteriorated. The enemy also reached Kalinin, 105 miles north-west of the capital. The break through of General Hoth's Panzer division to Mozhaisk, only 65 miles west of the capital, increased the threat. In spite of all efforts to arrest the invaders and frequent counter-attacks the enemy approached to within 40 miles of the city.

On October 19, M. Stalin declared that Moscow would be defended to the last, and the defences of the distant approaches to the capital were entrusted to General Zhukov, Chief of the General Staff. The defence of Moscow itself and its immediate approaches was handed over to Lt. General Artemyev, while Maj. General Finilov was to maintain order in the city and neighbourhood. A few days later Zhukov's command was extended to include the whole northern front, while Marshal Timoshenko replaced Budyonny on the southern front. To Marshals Voroshilov and Budyonny fell the task of training fresh armies in the rear. This was part of Stalin's long-term plans.

On October 15, after evacuating the armed forces and a great proportion of the civilian population the

Russians abandoned Odessa, and the Germans handed over the town to their Rumanian allies, who had suffered tremendous losses during its siege. While the Rumanians were celebrating this acquisition the Russians provided "the music" for the occasion. One of their delayed-action bombs exploded, killing General Glugosianu, the Rumanian commander of the city, with 50 of his officers.

As Moscow could not be taken by a frontal attack the Germans brought up fresh divisions and attempted with these an outflanking movement. On November 16 they launched an attack from north and south with 33 infantry divisions, 13 tank divisions and 5 motorised divisions.

The threat to Moscow was so serious that even before the attack started a partial evacuation of the capital was ordered. A number of industrial enterprises, some Government departments and foreign embassies were transferred to Kuibyshev, which became the temporary capital of the Soviet Union.

The break came by the end of November, when the position seemed critical, with Germans advancing in many directions. Timoshenko had by that time completed the reorganisation of the southern army and started to drive the invaders back. Although the Germans had strongly fortified Rostov on Don, an important communication, industrial, agricultural and administrative centre, they were driven out, leaving some 5,000 dead on the battlefield.

The position began to improve also on the Moscow front. In spite of all their efforts and tremendous losses, the Germans were fought to a standstill, and on December 8 they had to announce that because of the weather the advance on the Eastern Front had been suspended for the winter. This pill was particularly galling to them because only a fortnight earlier they

had boasted in "Das Reich" that another expectation of Britain that "winter will suspend the German operations in Russia" would be disappointed.

But the Germans were not allowed to hibernate near the capital. After months of heavy fighting they had penetrated in places up to 20 miles of Moscow, but on December 6 an attack by General Zhukov's forces began to drive them back, and by the 11th they had gone back some 40 miles, losing in killed alone 30,000 men. Their losses in material were equally heavy, and included some 600 tanks, 400 guns, 5,000 lorries, as well as a mass of other weapons and supplies destroyed or captured.

The failure to take Moscow cost Marshal von Bock his job. A few days later Hitler dismissed also the Commander-in-Chief, von Brauchitsch, as well as the Commander of the Southern Front, von Rundstedt. From that time Hitler himself assumed the supreme command of the German forces.

The change of command did not stop the retreat, and by the end of December the German armies were thrown back from east to west, a distance of some 140 miles. Although the retreat was general on all sectors of the front, the Soviet success was most marked in the north.

The liberation of Soviet towns and inhabited places revealed a sinister aspect of German warfare. Although the information had leaked out earlier in the campaign that the Germans were practising unheard of cruelties upon Russian prisoners of war and upon the civilian population in occupied territory, the full extent of these bestialities had not been discovered. It was revealed that these atrocities were not merely the excesses of a systematically brutalised German soldatesque, but the deliberate policy of their Government and particularly of Hitler himself. The

Germans had evacuated Klin in such great haste that they had left behind the archives of the Gestapo. Among the documents was an Order of the Day signed by the Commander of the 6th German Army, Field-marshall von Reichenau. Appended to the Order was a document from the office of the chief of the S.S. Military Area No. 102, which provided evidence that the Order was approved by Hitler. In this Order, the German soldiers were encouraged to commit the foulest barbarities. Repeatedly M. Molotov had occasion to protest to all Governments against the wholesale massacres, poison chambers, burials-alive, and other sadistic cruelties practised by the "gentlemen" officers of this "Herrenvolk."

The Soviet winter counter-offensive of 1941-42 achieved considerable gains. It had driven back the enemy on the three fronts, but it could not attain all its objectives. The Germans suffered great hardships in this campaign, but the attacking Soviet armies, too, had to overcome superhuman difficulties and obstacles.

General Zhukov's aim was the destruction of the German armies threatening Moscow. For this purpose he directed his main blow against large enemy concentrations around Smolensk. His blows radiated from the capital in all directions. Orel and Kharkov in the south, Kalinin in the north, and Staritsa in the west were the objects of his successful thrusts, and everywhere the enemy had to give ground after stubborn and bitter fighting for every inch. This was no voluntary evacuation to shorten the front, as the Germans tried to persuade the world. An army does not give up winter quarters voluntarily. A great deal of "persuasion" had to be employed by Zhukov's armies to induce the Germans to relinquish from the 9th to the 22nd of January alone more than 2,000 inhabited places. The German centre threatening

Moscow was driven back during that period more than 100 miles, thus reducing the immediate threat to the capital.

In the south, in spite of Timoshenko's early successes and the recapture of the important railway junction, Lozovaya, the Germans managed to retain Taganrog and Mariupol, two valuable strategic centres. The Russian advance across the Donetz was neither deep nor decisive enough to threaten the Germans in the Crimea, who fought tenaciously for weeks to maintain their hold on the Peninsula.

On the northern sector of the front the Russian army drove the enemy from Tikhvin, thus reducing the pressure upon Leningrad. Though the siege of Leningrad could not be relieved, the tenacious defence of the former capital provided certain advantages to the Russians by tying down large enemy concentrations. The Russians suffered heavy losses, particularly among the civilian population, but for the Germans Leningrad became a veritable Verdun.

While the Germans in the first six months of their campaign adopted a blitzkrieg strategy, attempting to reach a decision at any cost, the Soviet strategy of the winter campaign was based on limited aims and means. Like good chess players, they were thinking of many moves ahead, and the winter offensive was staged with an eye on the coming spring and summer campaigns. They avoided frontal attacks on strongly fortified German places, and aimed to kill as many of the enemy as possible and disrupt his front, with a view to weakening the expected German spring offensive as much as possible.

#### THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN OF 1942.

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THE Germans were preparing for the summer offensive even in the midst of the critical stage in

their winter campaign. Hitler had pinned all his hopes on the summer campaign, and in his speech of April 26, 1942, he announced that the decision must fall on the Eastern Front. To achieve a decision in the east he was even willing to sacrifice his campaign in the Middle East, and instead of supplying Rommel had concentrated all his available reserves on the Russian front. In addition to his own forces he had concentrated also the armies of its satellites. Italian, Rumanian, Hungarian and Slovak troops were massed to sustain and replenish the German forces. Factories in Germany and in occupied Europe were working feverishly day and night throughout the winter to pile up munitions in preparation for the final assault. Nothing was left undone to achieve a decision. The armies were reorganised, the transport system repaired and overhauled, the bases of operations behind the front improved and expanded. All the necessary preparations were made; nothing was left to chance.

When at last Hitler launched his attack a change of strategy was revealed. While the 1941 campaign was waged in all three sectors—northern, central and southern—the 1942 offensive aimed to achieve a decision in the south. Success in this sector would have provided the Reich not only with all the resources it needed, but would have also given the Germans complete control over the Black Sea and the key to the Mediterranean back door. A blow was also to be struck at the Allied Middle East forces from a new direction.

By launching his attack against Kharkov on May 12, Timoshenko stole the German thunder and upset their game. For six weeks the German drive was immobilised and valuable time lost. The continued resistance of Sevastopol, the great Russian naval base in the Crimea, was another factor that upset the

dangers for which they had to pay subsequently a heavy price. Large armies had to be tied down to secure the northern and southern flanks of the advancing troops, owing to the huge area of operations and the difficulties of the terrain. All this provided golden opportunities to the Russian forces that were always on the heels of the Germans, disrupting their communications and harassing them in every way. Although the Germans achieved important victories, the bulk of the Russian army was still intact.

In spite of all their spectacular successes, the summer campaign must be regarded as a German military blunder. The regions conquered had comparatively little strategic value, nor did they bring decisive victory nearer. Only the total destruction of the Red Army could achieve that goal. The German failure to base their strategy on annihilation must be regarded as amongst the worst blunders of the German Command during the war.

## THE SECOND WINTER CAMPAIGN.

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THUS, by the end of their second summer campaign, the Germans found themselves in occupation of vast territories but strategically their position was fraught with grave danger. A partial withdrawal to more secure lines would have made the task of the Soviet Army even more difficult. But Hitler had screamed at the top of his voice into the microphone for all the world to hear that a German soldier never retired from a position he had once reached! How then could he order them to fall back?

By the autumn of 1942 the Germans had actually penetrated up to the Mozdok and Novorossisk areas in the Caucasus while, at the same time, they were

engaged in a fierce onslaught on Stalingrad on the Volga.

The tasks of the Red Army on the Caucasus front were to pin down large German forces, to prevent them getting to the oil, to wear them down by incessant fighting, and finally to destroy them. These tasks the Red Army carried out with distinction.

The attack upon the German positions in the Caucasus was launched by Cossack formations. Forging and swimming, Cossacks crossed the rivers and fell on the enemy's rear, preparing the way for tanks and infantry, which slashed through the German defences and drove the enemy to disaster. Many German divisions were routed and decimated in this drive, which chased the enemy back to the Kuban area. German Headquarters announced they had effected an "elastic withdrawal."

In the autumn of 1942 Hitler's vassal armies on the Soviet front constituted a force of more than sixty divisions.

In July, 1942, practically the entire Rumanian Army which numbered about 25 divisions was sent to the front. It sustained heavy losses, but its fate was sealed later in the year.

The first blows of the Russian Army at Stalingrad were directed against the Rumanian Second Army and the Sixth Corps. By January 1, 1943, some 16 Rumanian divisions were shattered. Two more divisions were surrounded and mopped up together with the German Sixth Army later in the month.

In two years of war the Rumanians are estimated to have lost 700,000 men, including 250,000 killed, 350,000 wounded, and 100,000 prisoners.

A similar fate overtook the Italian Expeditionary Force in the Soviet Union. The Italian Army sent to the Eastern Front at the beginning of the war had

suffered heavy losses and in August, 1942, all the Italian forces on the Russian Front were fused into the Eighth Italian Army under General Garibaldi. What remained of this Army was completely shattered on the Middle Don in December, by the loss of 40,000 men in killed, wounded and captured.

By the end of 1942 there only remained of the Italian forces the Alpine Corps comprising three divisions and the 156th division held in reserve. In January the Alpine Corps was surrounded and shattered losing 33,000 men including a number of its generals and hundreds of officers of lower rank as prisoners of war. Thus by the end of January all of Mussolini's units on the Russian front were routed. Their total losses were 60,000 killed, 70,000 wounded, and 36,000 captured.

At the outbreak of the war Hitler's third satellite, Hungary, was in a position to send to the Soviet front only one Corps of between 50,000 and 60,000 men. In 1942 it was followed by the Second Hungarian Army, consisting of nine infantry divisions and a motorised brigade.

By the winter of 1942 seven of the Hungarian divisions had lost half their effectives. When the Red Army took the offensive in January, 1943, south of Voronezh the Second Hungarian Army was routed. Two army Corps were almost completely wiped out while a third was surrounded and its remnants, including its generals, were taken prisoner. Only insignificant Hungarian units remained at the time on the Russian front.

### **BATTLE FOR STALINGRAD.**

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IN every war there have been key battles that overshadow all others. Sometimes these battles were not

decisive in themselves, yet they have predetermined the issue of a campaign. Such were Waterloo, Austerlitz, Borodino, the battle of the Marne and Verdun. The battle of Stalingrad was of that calibre, if not greater. It was not so much a struggle between two mighty armies, but a dramatic duel between two incompatible worlds.

The battle for Stalingrad fought out during the winter of 1942-43 marked not only a turning point in the war but also in world history. Up to Stalingrad the question always uppermost in people's minds was, "What is Hitler going to do next?"

Stalingrad broke this spell. The blind faith in the invincibility of Germany was shattered, even in Germany itself. People outside Germany began to realise that given the necessary weapons, will and intelligence Germany could be beaten on the battlefield. At the time of Stalingrad Germany still held sway over large territories in the Soviet Union and over the whole continent outside Russia, but this was the first writing on the wall.

The Stalingrad victory was also a vindication of Soviet strategy. While the Russian campaign was based on economy of men, and the endeavour to disrupt, weaken and exhaust the enemy, Hitler cared nothing for losses. Like most gamblers, he never counted costs. His obstinacy was matched only by his profligacy. Too often he persisted in an attempt to capture or hold a place when all sense or value in the enterprise had long departed. Even the Stalingrad lesson was lost on him, for in early 1944 he still pursued the strategy which resulted in the undoing of his army on the Volga in December, 1942, and January, 1943.

As a result of this strategy Hitler celebrated on January 30, 1943, the tenth anniversary of his

assuming power, by making preparations for three days of mourning for the German Sixth Army destroyed at Stalingrad. Some 400,000 Germans died or were captured for their folly in following their "intuitive Fuehrer" in this disastrous defeat.

During the three months from December, 1942, to February, 1943, the Germans lost in killed and wounded alone one million men, of which number 700,000 were killed. Their losses of material during the same period included 7,000 tanks, 4,000 aircraft, 17,000 guns and large quantities of other equipment.

The winter campaign had shown how greatly improved was the offensive power of the Red Army. The Germans were not only driven out of territories which they had occupied in their summer offensive of 1942, but even from places which had been in their hands since the summer of 1941 and which they had strongly fortified. Instead of boasting of spectacular successes and long advances, the Germans could only glory now in their tactical withdrawals and in the "Stalingrads" which they had escaped.

This campaign was the turning point of the war, and it revealed the changed relation of forces. In spite of Hitler's strictest orders to hold captured positions the Germans were unable to arrest the advance of the Red Army. By powerful blows the Germans were driven from the Volga and Terek rivers a distance of more than 400 miles. The road traversed by the Germans in their summer offensive was, at the end of the winter campaign, littered with hundreds of thousands of German officers and men who had found their "Lebensraum" in the Eastern Front. Serious blows were also dealt to the Germans on the Northern and Central fronts. The siege of Leningrad was broken, and the enemy was driven from important strategic areas like Kursk, Vyazma, Rzhev, Gzhatsk, Demyansk and Velikie Luki.

## THE TABLES TURNED.

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ON June 22, 1943, when the Germans celebrated the second anniversary of their wanton attack upon the Soviet Union, they were further from their objectives than at any time since the beginning of the campaign. Their hopes of exhausting the Soviet power and destroying the Red Army had obviously miscarried. During the two years of war they and their satellites had lost in killed and prisoners alone about 6,400,000 men. Their loss of material destroyed or captured included 56,500 guns of all calibres, 42,400 tanks and 43,000 'planes. Soviet losses during the same period were 4,200,000 killed or missing, 35,000 guns of all calibres, 30,000 tanks and 23,000 'planes.

Valuable aid was rendered to the Soviet Army by the shipments of munitions and supplies from Great Britain and the United States. Not less valuable was the work of the guerillas in enemy occupied territory. In the first two years these patriots are estimated to have killed 300,000 of the invaders and to have wrecked 3,000 trains, blown up or burnt 895 stores of ammunition, demolished 3,263 bridges and destroyed many hundreds of tanks, armoured cars, 'planes, lorries and guns.

The cumulative effect of the blows inflicted on the Germans was so serious that in the spring of 1943 they were unable to launch an offensive. Hitler could not, however, dispense with a summer offensive. Not only had he mobilised every available man in Germany, but he had demanded from Laval, Quisling and the other traitors, hundreds of thousands more slaves.

The main objective of his summer offensive, which was launched on July 5, 1943, was to take revenge for his winter defeat and to show at all costs that the

Germans could still take the initiative. For these military and political reasons the German High Command planned powerful blows in the Orel—Kursk and Byelgorod—Kursk directions, hoping to surround the Russian forces stationed in the Kursk bulge, avenge Stalingrad and develop a new thrust for Moscow.

Hitler's Order of the Day to the German troops, read out on the night of July 4-5, told them among other things: "My soldiers, your victory must more than ever before strengthen the opinion throughout the world that all resistance to the German armed forces is futile."

The Germans made long and careful preparations for this attack. They started it with 15 tank divisions and 14 infantry divisions with strong air support, for which they withdrew 'planes from the Western Front. But the attack misfired, and the results achieved in the first few days were so meagre that the German Command was constrained to announce to the world that it was the Red Army and not the Germans who had started the offensive.

This offensive in the Kursk salient came to an end on July 23. On the following day Marshal Stalin, in his Order of the Day addressed to Generals Rokossovsky, Vatutin and Popov, congratulated them and their troops on liquidating the German offensive.

The cause of the German failure was that at a critical time in the struggle they were without reserves to make good their terrific losses. In the 18 days' fighting they had lost 70,000 men in killed alone.

Not only did the Germans fail to achieve their objectives, but they had actually to give ground.

The collapse was a severe blow to the morale of the enemy. They had learned by bitter experience that

winter campaigns bode no good to them, but for a summer campaign to go against them was almost a violation of the law of nature.

The Germans had boasted of their Orel fortifications, which had taken two years to complete. Orel was a bastion in the Europe they wished to enslave. From Orel and Byelgorod they started the offensive which was to have gained for them Kursk, but exactly one month from the start of this offensive the Germans had lost both these fortresses. Orel, "the pistol that aimed at Moscow" from the south-west, was knocked out of their hands.

August was a month of victories for Soviet arms. Every day brought resounding news of the liberation from the enemy of large areas. On August 23 the Germans were finally driven out of Kharkov, and on August 30 the enemy was chased from Taganrog.

The Germans had built up a strong and durable defence system in the Donetz Basin. Many divisions were concentrated there, and all the strategic points were strongly garrisoned. The Soviet offensive to capture this important area was started simultaneously in several sectors in the north, north-east and south-east. The breakthrough was accomplished in the south by Cossack regiments and mechanised units advancing from Taganrog.

On September 16, ships and troops of the Black Sea Fleet succeeded in capturing, after five days of fierce struggle, the important port of Novorossisk. On the same day General Rokossovsky's Army captured Novgorod-Seversky. On the following day General Popov's troops drove the Germans from Bryansk, and on the 18th the Second Guards Cavalry Corps, under Major-General Kryukov, succeeded in crossing the Desna and establishing a bridgehead on the western bank of the river.

On September 21, General Rokossovsky occupied Chernigov by a skilful outflanking manoeuvre after three days' fighting. Two days later General Koniev's Army secured for the Soviet Union, Poltava.

On September 25, Marshal Stalin's Order of the Day announced the capture of Smolensk and Roslavl. The loss of Smolensk was a particularly severe blow to the Germans. Situated on both banks of the Dnieper, this city has often proved a bastion against would-be conquerors. The Germans had converted it into what they believed was another "impregnable fortress," because Smolensk was a key point in their "Eastern Wall" against the Soviet Union.

The German retreat during these months was the fastest ever known to them. Although the enemy Command declared the retirement to be voluntary, little credence can be given to such assertions. Not only had they to abandon some of their best fortified positions by these withdrawals, but their front was actually lengthened by it.

After a short pause, the Soviet Army resumed its advance in the second week of October, along a 900 mile front from Vitebsk to the Taman Peninsula. For nearly three months the Red Army was sweeping forward in an offensive that was remarkable for its scope, pace and steadiness of advance. The campaign was very arduous and the advance was as much as 250 miles in some sectors.

Forcing the Dnieper at three points was an extremely difficult task. The Dnieper is one of the largest rivers in European Russia and its west bank is very steep and well adapted for defence. The Germans made the most of these natural advantages.

The Soviet commander deliberately chose to cross the swampy area south of Pereyaslav, which was believed extremely unsuitable for the purpose, and

consequently lightly held by the enemy.

The capture of Zaporozhye by General Malinovsky on October 16, and the break into Melitopol on the same day were two major successes of the Red Army. The terrain of Zaporozhye is criss-crossed by streams and ravines, and studded with mounds.

On October 25, the troops of General Malinovsky captured the towns of Dniepropetrovsk and Dnieprodzherzhinsk, two of the main centres of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry. It involved the very difficult operation of forcing the Dnieper near Dniepropetrovsk. The two towns formed the main link in the enemy defence line on the right bank of the Dnieper, and their capture was of great military and operational importance.

The capture of Melitopol opened a way to Nikopol with its famous manganese deposits, while the advance on Krivoy Rog endangered the last of the important industrial objectives still in German hands.

While this Russian advance was in full swing, the Foreign Secretaries of the U.S.A., Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. met in Moscow from October 19 to 30, and thus marked an important stage in strengthening inter Allied relations. The participation of a large staff of military, diplomatic and economic experts and advisers was an indication of the importance and variety of the problems under discussion.

On November 7, when Russia was celebrating the 26th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution the Government was in a position to announce to the people the conclusion of a successful campaign along a 600 mile front. Only in 1941 were the Germans capable of attempting an operation on so vast a scale. Their 1942 offensive was limited to a 200 miles front, while their abortive summer offensive of 1943 was restricted to a small sector of a few miles. The German losses

in material during the four months between July 5 and November 5, were 17,700 tanks, 10,189 'planes, 19,800 guns, 74,460 machine guns, 19,180 mortars, and 75,982 lorries.

The capture of Kiev by Vatutin's Army, on the eve of the anniversary celebrations, was a heartening event. In addition to the moral and political value of the capital of the Ukraine and oldest Russian city, Kiev has a strategic importance. It forms an advantageous bridgehead on the right bank of the Dnieper, and its possession was essential for driving the Germans from the territory of the Ukraine west of the Dnieper.

Fastov was captured by General Vatutin's Army on November 7 and on November 18 they took Korosten. On the same day General Rokossovsky had driven the Germans from Rechitsa. On November 19, General Vatutin continued the good work by the capture of Ovruch, and on the 26th Rokossovsky followed up his success by the capture of Gomel, in White Russia. Gomel is an important strategic and industrial centre and a junction of the main railway lines.

About this time another important link in strengthening the Allied ties was forged. At the beginning of December, 1943, the three Allied leaders—President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin—met in Teheran. The first declaration issued by the Three-Power Conference on December 1 confirmed the desire of the three States to collaborate in war and in peace. One can only surmise the full significance of this meeting and the importance of the problems discussed.

On December 12, a Treaty of Friendship was signed in Moscow between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, providing for mutual assistance and for post-war collaboration between the two States.

The loss of Kiev was a smashing blow to the Germans, and they massed armour and crack troops for a counter offensive. But their initial losses were so heavy that they were forced to relinquish their effort and go over to the defensive. When the Red Army began to advance again the German losses piled up even more heavily. Blows inflicted at their communication lines and junctions forced the enemy to abandon large stores of munitions and equipment.

Even while the Germans were striving to create a diversion by their counter-offensive, each day brought news from the other fronts of fresh Soviet successes. On December 10, troops under General Koniev captured the important railway junction and town of Znamenka, which was strongly fortified by the enemy. Four days later Koniev's troops stormed the important German hedgehog position of Cherkassy, also on the right bank of the Dnieper.

Then towards the end of the year the Northern Front began to figure more in the news, and on December 24 the capture of the important stronghold on the Nevel-Vitebsk line, Gorodok, by troops under General Bagramyan, was announced.

General Vatutin inaugurated the year 1944 with a series of brilliant victories in the Ukraine. On January 1 his troops captured Zhitomir, and two days later he had driven the enemy from Novograd-Volynsk. On the 4th his troops captured Belya Tserkov, and on the 5th they cleared Berdichev of the enemy after fierce fighting. Another strongly fortified position—Sarny—was captured by his troops on January 12.

Two days later an important success was announced by General Rokossovsky's troops—the conquest of Mozyr and Kalinkovichi on the White Russian front. At long last came the eagerly awaited Russian drive from Leningrad.

On January 19 General Govorov's troops went over to the offensive, and in a mighty attack they broke through from Pulkovo and south of Oranienbaum. The permanent German defences were pierced in great depth, and in five days of stubborn fighting the Russians advanced in all directions from 8 to 12 miles.

General Meretskov's Army having launched a simultaneous offensive in the direction of Novgorod forced the river Volkhov, and by a skilful outflanking manoeuvre broke through the German defences and captured the historic city of Novgorod on January 20.

Pursuing his offensive on the Leningrad front, General Govorov captured on January 24 Pushkino (Detskoye Selo) and Pavlovsk, both large railway junctions and important strongholds in the German defence line. Four enemy divisions were destroyed in the battles for these strongholds, the capture of which freed Leningrad at last from the day and night bombardments to which it had been subjected for so long.

The Germans had here built up an incredibly strong defence line and entrenched themselves in deep underground ferro-concrete shelters. The whole area was covered with wire entanglements, minefields and carefully chosen fortified dominating positions. But a concentration of terrific artillery fire from mortars and a readiness to make heavy sacrifices to achieve the initial breakthrough enabled the Russian Army to dislodge the enemy and advance well beyond the frontiers of the Estonian Soviet Republic. The whole liberated area of about 1,000 square miles was laid in ruins by the invader before his retirement and the entire population either killed or driven into slavery in Germany.

Sweeping on, General Govorov's troops occupied on January 26 Krasnogvardeisk (Gatchina), and on February 1 liberated Kingisepp, having forced the

formidable Luga river obstacle.

On February 5, General Vatutin's First Ukrainian Army again came in the news by the capture of Luck and Rovno, two large regional centres of the Ukraine.

On the following day the Third Ukrainian Army, under General Malinovsky, drove the Germans from Apostolovo and Marganets.

On February 8, the Fourth Ukrainian Army, under General Tolbukhin, having broken through the German heavily fortified defences at their bridgehead south of Nikopol, on the left bank of the Dnieper, defeated seven enemy infantry divisions and reached the Dnieper along the whole length of the bridgehead. On the same day General Malinovsky's Army, in collaboration with Tolbukhin's troops operating on the flank of the enemy, captured Nikopol itself. This large industrial and manganese centre of the Ukraine was an immense prize.

On February 11, Vatutin's Army captured the town of Shepetovka, an important railway junction and strongpoint in the German defences.

An Order of the Day issued by Marshal Stalin on February 18 announced the liquidation of ten German divisions trapped in the Dnieper bend by the Second Ukrainian Army under General Koniev.

The encirclement manœuvre practised by the Soviet Army is one of the highest forms of military art and the most effective means of destroying enemy forces. Its basic features were firmly established in the battle for Stalingrad, and they have been further developed subsequently. These were the tactics employed in the trapping and destruction of the ten German divisions in the Dnieper bend.

Encirclement tactics also proved successful in the Apostolovo-Marganets area, where troops of the Third Ukrainian Army trapped and liquidated more than five German divisions. 205

February 22 was another red-letter day in the struggle to drive the enemy from the Soviet Union. On that day General Malinovsky's troops captured the town of Krivoy Rog, the last important industrial area held by the Germans in the Ukraine.

The loss of Krivoy Rog and Nikopol in February, 1944, deprived the Germans of their last economic objectives in the Ukraine worth fighting for. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, regained everything necessary for its war economy.

The only adequate strategy for the Germans under the circumstances was obviously to extricate their 40 to 50 divisions still stationed in the Ukraine and prepare for the defence of the Balkans. But Hitler's obstinacy—or intuition—persisted. General Manstein was ordered to hold on at all costs, but inexorably the Russian armies pressed on towards the frontiers of Bessarabia. By the spring of 1944 the Nazi invader was almost entirely back across the borders of the Soviet State—borders which less than three years ago he 'had violated in his "invincible" march to world power.

**APPENDIX I.**  
**HISTORICAL EVENTS IN CHRONOLOGICAL  
ORDER.**

862 Foundation of Russian State by Rurik (862-879).  
862 Cyril and Methodius visit Moravia.  
912 Oleg (879-912) concludes peace with the Greeks.  
944 Igor (912-945) concludes peace with the Greeks.  
957 Olga visits Constantinople and embraces Christianity.  
957-972 Svyatoslav.  
988 Vladimir (980-1015) introduces Christianity.  
1019-1054 Yaroslav.  
1050 The Pechersky Monastery in Kiev.  
1056 The Ostromir Gospels.  
1097 The Congress of Lyubetzk.  
1113-1125 Vladimir Monomachus.  
1169 Kiev conquered by Andrew Bogolyubsky.  
1200 First mention of Lithuanians.  
1224 Tartar invasion. Battle of the Kalka.  
1238 Batu invades Russia.  
1240 Alexander Nevsky. Battle of the Neva.  
1241 Alexander Nevsky defeats the Germans on Lake Peipus.  
1299 The Kiev Metropolitan moves his residence to Vladimir on the Klyazma.  
1300-1310 Pereyaslavl, Mozhaysk and Kolomna added to Moscow.  
1320 The Ukraine and Kiev occupied by Lithuania.  
1326 Metropolitan Peter moves residence to Moscow.  
1328-1341 Ivan Kalita Prince of Moscow.  
1341-1353 Simon the Proud.  
1346 The Moscow Kremlin built.  
1350 The black death.  
1363-1389 Dmitry Donskoy.

1380 Battle of Kulikovo Pole.  
1386 Lithuania and Poland united.  
1389-1425 Vasily I (Basil I). The Nizhni-Novgorod Principality joined to Moscow.  
1395 Invasion of Tamerlane.  
1425-1462 Vasily II, the Blind.  
1448 The Russian Church independent of Byzantium.  
1462-1505 Ivan III.  
1479 Moscow annexes Novgorod.  
1480 The Uspensky Cathedral built in Moscow.  
1480 Overthrow of the Tartar rule.  
1482 Tver and Rostov annexed by Moscow.  
1497 Ivan III issues his Sudebnik.  
1499 Compilation of the Bible from Slavonic translations.  
1505-1533 Vasily III.  
1510 Annexation of Pskov.  
1521 Invasion of the Crimean Tartars.  
1533-1584 Ivan IV, the Terrible.  
1547 Ivan assumes the title of Tsar.  
1548 First printing office established in Russia.  
1548-1698 National Assemblies (Zemsky Sobors).  
1551 The Stoglav.  
1552 Conquest of Kazan.  
1553 Chancellor discovers the sea route to Russia.  
1554 Conquest of Astrakhan.  
1564 The Oprichniki.  
1580 Fletcher visits Russia.  
1581 The first Slavonic Bible printed in Ostrog.  
1582 Conquest of Siberia.  
1584-1598 Feodor.  
1584 The building of Archangel started.  
1589 Establishment of the Patriarchate. Foundation of the Kiev Academy.  
1589-1597 Serfdom introduced.  
1598-1605 Boris Godunov.

1605-1606 The False Dimitry.  
1606-1610 Shuisky.  
1610-1613 Interregnum.  
1613 Accession of the Romanovs.  
1613-1645 Michael.  
1617 Treaty of Stolbovo.  
1618 Treaty of Deulino. Poles retain Smolensk.  
1634 Treaty of Polyanovka.  
1636 The Cossacks take Azov.  
1645-1676 Alexis.  
1649 Code of the National Assembly.  
1654 Bogdan Kmelnitzky recognises the Tsar. The Ukraine joins Russia.  
1667 Andruzovo truce with Poland.  
1671 Stepan Razin.  
1676-1682 Feodor Alexeyevich.  
1682-1689 Regency of Sophia.  
1689-1725 Peter the Great.  
1700-1721 The Northern War.  
1703 Foundation of St. Petersburg. First Russian newspaper published.  
1711 The Senate established.  
1718 The Secret Chancellery.  
1721 The Holy Synod established. Abolition of the Patriarchate.  
1722 Treaty of Nystadt. Finland and Karelia acquired.  
1723 Baku and Derbent acquired.  
1724 Academy of Sciences established.  
1725-1727 Catherine I.  
1727-1730 Peter II.  
1730-1740 Anna of Courland.  
1736-1739 War with Turkey.  
1741-1761 Elizabeth.  
1743 Treaty of Abo with Sweden. Acquisition of Southern Finland.

1746 Russian theatre established at Yaroslavl.  
1755 University of Moscow founded.  
1756 Russian theatre established at St. Petersburg.  
1757 Academy of Fine Arts established at St. Petersburg.  
1761-1762 Peter III.  
1762-1796 Catherine II.  
1771 First partition of Poland.  
1773 Rising of Pugachev.  
1768-1774 War against Turkey. Acquisition of Azov, Kerch and Kinburn.  
1783 Annexation of the Crimea.  
1787-1791 War against Turkey. Acquisition of Ochakov.  
1793 Second partition of Poland.  
1795 Third partition of Poland.  
1796-1801 Paul. .  
1801-1825 Alexander I.  
1801 Georgia annexed.  
1809 Incorporation of rest of Finland.  
1812 Napoleon invades Russia.  
1815 Vienna Congress. Duchy of Warsaw annexed.  
1825-1855 Nicholas I.  
1825 Decembrist rising.  
1826-1828 War with Persia. Acquisition of Erivan and Nakhichevan.  
1827 War with Turkey.  
1830 Polish insurrection.  
1854-1856 Crimean war.  
1855-1881 Alexander II.  
1861 Emancipation of the serfs.  
1862 Conservatory established in St. Petersburg.  
1863 Polish insurrection.  
1864 Completion of the conquest of the Caucasus.  
1864-1868 Annexation of Tashkent and Samarkand.  
Bokhara becomes dependent State.

1873 Khiva becomes dependent State.  
1876 Sakhalin and Khokand annexed.  
1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War.  
1878 Treaty of Berlin. Bessarabia returned to Russia.  
1881-1894 Alexander III.  
1884 Merv annexed.  
1891-1901 Trans-Siberian Railway built.  
1904-1905 War with Japan.  
1905 Jan. 22, shooting down of peaceful procession.  
1905 Revolutionary movement and strikes. October 30, Tsar grants a Constitution.  
1905 Dec., Moscow rising.  
1906 May 10, meeting of First State Duma.  
1907 March 5, meeting of Second State Duma.  
Nov. 14, meeting of Third State Duma.  
1909 Sept. 14, assassination of Prime Minister Stolypin.  
1914 Aug. 1, Germany declares war on Russia.  
1914 Aug. 26, Battle of Tannenberg.  
1914 Sept. 2, Russians defeat Austrians at Lemberg.  
1914 Sept. 17, Russian victory in Galicia.  
1915 May 2, Russian retreat in the Carpathians.  
1916 Jan. 19, Russians defeat Turks in the Caucasus.  
1916 Feb. 16, Russians capture Erzerum.  
1916 Feb. 18, Russians capture Trebizon.  
1916 June 16, Russians take Czernovits.

## APPENDIX II.

### DIARY OF EVENTS SINCE THE REVOLUTION OF 1917.

1917

Feb. 28 Strike of 25,000 workmen in Petrograd.  
March 3 Strike at the Putilov works.  
,, 9 Street fights with police; 200,000 strikers in Petrograd.  
,, 10 General strike in Petrograd. Workers' Deputies elected.  
,, 11 Tsar orders dissolution of the Duma.  
,, 12 Revolt of Preobrazhensky, Volynsky and Litovsky Guard regiments.  
,, 13 General strike in Moscow.  
,, 15 Abdication of Nicholas Romanov. Formation of Provisional Government.  
April 5 Funeral of the 1,382 victims of the Revolution in Petrograd.  
,, 11 All-Russian Conference of Soviets.  
,, 16 Return of V. I. Lenin and 32 exiles from Switzerland.  
May 15 Foreign Minister Miliukov resigns.  
,, 18 Formation of Coalition Government. Kerensky as War Minister.  
June 10-July 6 First All-Russian Congress of Soviets.  
July 15 Members of Government belonging to Liberal (Cadet) Party resign.  
,, 16-17 Armed demonstrations in Petrograd organised by Bolsheviks.  
,, 19 Russian lines broken at Tarnopol.  
,, 21 Kerensky appointed Premier.  
Aug. 8-16 Sixth Congress of Bolshevik Party.  
Sept. 3 Germans occupy Riga.

Nov. 7 Bolshevik rising and seizure of power.  
,, 12 Anti-Bolshevik rising in Moscow.  
Dec. 6 Armistice on the Russian front.  
,, 6 Troops sent against Kaledin and Dutov.  
,, 15 Armistice signed at Brest-Litovsk.  
,, 19 Kornilov's troops beaten at Belgorod.  
,, 22 Beginning of peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk.  
,, 27 First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets takes over power from the Rada in the Ukraine.  
,, 28 Don district occupied by Kornilov.  
,, 31 Finland declared her independence.

1918

Jan. 2 Council of People's Commissars recognises independence of Finland.  
,, 14 Attempt on Lenin's life in Petrograd.  
,, 15 Diplomatic relations with Rumania broken.  
,, 16 Formation of Red Army. Russia proclaimed a Federal Republic of Soviets.  
,, 18 Constituent Assembly meets in Petrograd.  
,, 19 Dissolution of Constituent Assembly.  
,, 21 State loans of Tsarist Government annulled. Soviet troops advance in the Ukraine.  
,, 23-31 Third Congress of Soviets.  
,, 28 Revolution in Finland.  
Feb. 8 Kiev taken by revolutionary troops. Introduction of Gregorian calendar.  
,, 9 Trotsky refuses, at Brest-Litovsk, to accept German peace terms.  
,, 18 Beginning of German invasion.  
,, 19 Decree on the socialization of the land.  
,, 21 German troops occupy Minsk and Orsha.

Feb. 23 Service in the Red Army made compulsory.  
„ 24 German troops occupy Pskov.  
„ 25 German troops occupy Reval and Borissov.  
„ 27 Council of People's Commissars decides to accept German peace terms.

March 3 Brest-Litovsk peace treaty signed.  
„ 6-8 Seventh Congress of Bolshevik Party decides to change name to Communist Party (Bolsheviks).  
„ 8 Evacuation of Petrograd begins.  
„ 9 British, French and Italian Missions leave Russia.  
„ 12 Government moves from Petrograd to Moscow.  
„ 15 Turks occupy Trebizon. Austrians occupy Odessa. Soviet troops occupy Ekaterinodar.  
„ 16 German troops occupy Kiev.

April 5 German troops occupy Kharkov. Japanese land at Vladivostok.  
„ 6 British land at Vladivostok.  
„ 18 Kornilov killed, his forces beaten.  
„ 20 Germany occupies the Crimea.  
„ 27 Germans dissolve Ukrainian Rada. Skoropadsky made Hetman.

May 6 Occupation of Rostov and Taganrog by Ukrainian-German forces.  
„ 21 Peasant revolts against Germans and Gaidamaks in the Ukraine.  
„ 23 Peace negotiations with Ukraine.  
„ 25 First conflicts with Czecho-Slovak forces near Omsk.

June 17 Peace with the Ukraine concluded.  
„ 18 Revolt against the Germans and Skoropadsky in the Ukraine.

July 2 Anglo-French descent in Murmansk.

July 6 German Ambassador Mirbach assassinated in Moscow. Revolt of Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow.

„ 16 Execution of Nicholas Romanov.

„ 30 General Eichhorn, Chief of German Army in Ukraine, shot.

Aug. 30 Second attempt on Lenin's life, by Kaplan. Uritzky assassinated.

Sept. 4 American troops land at Vladivostok.

„ 18 Revolt of German and Austrian troops at Mohilev and Rovno.

Oct. 4 Dutov's detachments defeated near Orsk.

„ 25 Turks evacuate Batum.

Nov. 13 Repudiation of Brest-Litovsk treaty.

„ 18 Kolchak arrests Omsk Government and declares himself Dictator.

„ 29 Narva taken by Soviet troops.

Dec. 1 Hetman Skoropadsky dethroned.

„ 31 Ufa occupied by Soviet troops.

### 1919

Jan. 18 Anglo-French troops land at Odessa.

„ 22 Paris Peace Conference decides to invite all governments and groups in Russia to a conference in the Island of Prinkipo.

March 14 French troops evacuate Nikolaev.

„ 16 Evacuation of Odessa by the French. Soviet detachments break into the Crimea at Perekop.

April 20 French sailors of the *Mirabeau* revolt at Sevastopol.

„ 26 Rumanians abandon Khotin. Kolchak defeated.

May 3 Finland attacks Soviet territory.

„ 4 Denikin launches attack in South.

May 9 Revolt of Ataman Grigoriev in the Ukraine.  
 ,, 13 Rumanian troops defeated; Bessarabia entered.  
 ,, 14 Yudenich advances on Petrograd.  
 ,, 20 Yudenich defeated near Krasnaya Gorka.  
 June 13 Entente recognises Kolchak as ruler of Russia.  
 ,, 26 American troops leave Archangel.  
 July 8 French troops bombard Odessa.  
 ,, 22 Soviet renounces all privileges obtained by Tsarist Government in China.  
 Aug. 27 British troops leave Archangel.  
 ,, 31 Kiev occupied by Denikin.  
 Sept. 11 Soviet Government offers peace negotiations to Latvia, Lithuania and Finland.  
 ,, 20 Denikin occupies Kursk.  
 Oct. 11 Yudenich starts second advance on Petrograd; occupies Yamburg.  
 ,, 12 Entente starts blockade of Baltic provinces.  
 ,, 15 Kiev taken by Red troops. Finland blockades Soviet Russia.  
 ,, 19 Budyonny's cavalry defeats Mamontov and Shkuro near Voronezh.  
 ,, 20 Soviet troops occupy Orel.  
 ,, 22 Yudenich forced to retreat from Pavlovsk and Detskoye Selo.  
 Nov. 4 Red Army drives Yudenich from Yamburg and Kolchak from Omsk.  
 Dec. 6 Belgorod occupied by Red Army.  
 ,, 16 Red troops occupy Kiev and Kupiansk.  
 ,, 20 Mamontov's and Shkuro's cavalry defeated by Budyonny in the northern Donetz area. Red Army takes Tomsk.  
 ,, 23 Peace offered to Poland. Armistice concluded with Estonia.  
 25 White Army defeated near Krasnovodsk.

Dec. 27 Revolt in Kolchak's camp.  
,, 30 Red Army occupies Ekaterinislav and Sinelnikovo.

1920

Jan. 3 Red Army takes Tzaritzin.  
,, 8 Red Army occupies Krasnoyarsk. Remains of Kolchak's army surrenders. Budyonny occupies Rostov and Nakhichevan.  
,, 10-13 Disarmament of Makhno's detachments in the Alexandrovsk and Nikopol districts.  
,, 16 Entente decision to discontinue blockade of Russia without entering into diplomatic relations.  
Feb. 2 Peace signed with Estonia.  
,, 6 Red Army occupies Odessa and Krasnovodsk.  
,, 21 Red troops enter Archangel.  
,, 22 White Army at Murmansk disbanded.  
,, 24 Soviet Government offers peace to U.S.A., Japan and Rumania.  
,, 26 Red Army occupies Tikhoretzk.  
March 2 Red Army occupies Irkutsk.  
,, 13 Red Army occupies Murmansk.  
,, 17 Red Army occupies Ekaterinodar.  
,, 27 Red Army defeats Denikin and occupies Novocherkask.  
,, 29 Ninth Congress of Communist Party.  
April 4 Remainder of Denikin's Army disarmed by Caucasian Highlanders.  
,, 16 Turks occupy Batum, Kars and Ardaghan.  
,, 25 Poland invades Russia.  
,, 29 Armistice signed with Japan.  
May 6 Kiev occupied by the Poles.  
,, 31 Soviet and British representatives discuss resumption of trade relations.

June 7 Wrangel advances near Perekop.  
 „ 10 Drive against Polish army. Fastov taken.  
 „ 11 Red Army occupies Kiev.  
 July 29 Red Army occupies Belostok.  
 Aug. 1 Red Army occupies Brest-Litovsk. Peace negotiations begin at Baranovichy.  
 „ 2 Breakdown of negotiations with Poland.  
 „ 11 Peace signed with Latvia. France recognises Wrangel's Government.  
 Oct. 12 Armistice signed with Poland.  
 „ 14 Peace signed with Finland.  
 „ 26 Red Army begins advance against Wrangel.  
 Nov. 8 Red Army enters Crimea near Perekop.  
 „ 17 Crimea occupied by Red Army.  
 „ 21 Ataman Semenov defeated by the Red Army of the Far East.  
 „ 29 Armenia declared a Soviet Republic.  
 Dec. 22-29 Eighth Congress of Soviets adopts Electrification Plan.

### 1921

Feb. 25 Treaty signed with Afghanistan. Georgia declared a Soviet Socialist Republic.  
 „ 26 Treaty signed with Persia.  
 March 16 Treaty signed with Turkey. Trade Agreement with Great Britain concluded.  
 „ 18 Peace treaty signed with Poland at Riga.  
 May 6 Trade Agreement concluded with Germany.  
 Aug. 11 Decision of the Council of People's Commissars on the adoption of the New Economic Policy published.  
 Sept. 2 Trade Agreement concluded with Norway.  
 Oct. 12 State Bank established.  
 „ 18 Crimea declared an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Nov. 5 Amnesty for soldiers of White Armies proclaimed. Treaty of Friendship signed with Mongolia.

Dec. 8 Trade Agreement with Austria concluded.

,, 22-27 Ninth Congress of Soviets.

,, 26 Preliminary Trade Agreement with Poland concluded.

### 1922

Feb. 9 Decree on the organisation of the G.P.U. (State Political Department).

March 1 Agreement with Sweden signed.

,, 12 Transcaucasia formed a Federation.

April 16-May 16 Soviet representatives participate in the Genoa Conference.

,, 16 Rapallo Agreement with Germany signed.

May 31 Trade Agreement with Italy concluded.

June 15-July 15 Soviet representatives take part in The Hague Conference.

Oct. 25 Japanese evacuate Vladivostok.

Nov. 19 The Far-Eastern Republic joins R.S.F.S.R.

Dec. 30 First Congress of Soviets of U.S.S.R. Treaty of Soviet Republics entering Union published.

### 1923

May 8 Lord Curzon's Note to Russia presented.

,, 10 Vorovsky assassinated in Switzerland by Conradi.

,, 30 Buriat-Mongolia declared Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic.

July 6 Central Executive Committee ratifies Constitution of U.S.S.R.

Dec. 28 Reorganisation of Consumers' Co-operatives on principle of voluntary membership.

## 1924

Jan. 21 Death of V. I. Lenin.  
,, 26 Second Congress of Soviets. Petrograd renamed Leningrad.

Feb. 2 Great Britain recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 7 Italy recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 13-14 Norway recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 20 Austria recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 22 Government establishes stable currency.

March 8 Greece recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 14 Sweden recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 27-April 2 Soviet-Rumanian Conference in Vienna. Negotiations break down on question of Bessarabia.

April 14 Anglo-Soviet Conference opens.

May 3 German police raid premises of Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin.  
,, 31 China recognises Russia *de jure*.

June 18 Denmark recognises Russia *de jure*.

July 29 Dispute with Germany in consequence of the raid settled.

Aug. 1 Mexico recognises Russia *de jure*.  
,, 6 Hedjaz recognises Russia *de jure*.

Oct. 24 British Note on the Zinoviev letter.

Nov. 21 Mr. Baldwin refuses to ratify Anglo-Soviet Agreement concluded by Mr. MacDonald's Government on August 8.

## 1925

Jan. 20 Soviet-Japanese Agreement on resumption of diplomatic and trade relations signed in Pekin.

May 13-20 Third All-Union Congress of Soviets.

Oct. 12 Soviet-German Trade Agreement signed.

Dec. 6 Opening of Shatura Electric Station.  
" 15 Soviet-Norwegian Trade Agreement signed.  
" 17 Soviet-Turkish Neutrality Pact signed.

1926

Feb. 5 Soviet diplomatic couriers attacked near Riga.  
" 25 Soviet-French Conference opens in Paris.  
April 24 Soviet-German Neutrality Pact signed.  
Aug. 23 Uruguay recognises Russia *de jure*.  
" 31 Mutual Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pact signed with Afghanistan.  
Sept. 2 Chan-Tso-Lin takes forcible possession of all ships belonging to the Chinese-Eastern Railway.  
" 28 Neutrality and Non-Aggression Pact signed with Lithuania.  
Dec. 17 The All-Union Census.

1927

March 11 Soviet-Turkish Trade Agreement signed.  
" 11 Chinese police raid premises of Soviet Trade Delegation in Kharbin.  
April 6 Chinese police raid premises of Soviet Military Attaché and of Embassy employees in Pekin.  
" 14 Settlement of dispute with Switzerland over murder of Vorovsky.  
" 18-26 Fourth All-Union Congress of Soviets.  
May 12 Police raid premises of Trade Delegation in London.  
" 28 Diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. broken off.  
June 2 Soviet-Latvian Trade Agreement signed.  
" 3 Relations with Canada broken off.  
" 7 Soviet Plenipotentiary in Poland, Voikov, assassinated in Warsaw by Koverda.

Oct. 1 Soviet-Persian Neutrality and Non-Aggression Pact, and Trade Agreement, signed in Moscow.  
,, 15 Seven hour working day introduced. Concessions granted to poorer peasants.  
Dec. 1 Soviet Disarmament proposals submitted at Geneva.

1928

Jan. 18 Trial of forgers of anti-Soviet "documents" opened in Paris.  
,, 20 Soviet-Estonian Agreement on the settlement of frontier conflicts.  
May 18 Beginning of trial of 53 Russian and German engineers accused of sabotage in the Donetz coalfield.  
July 12 Soviet ice-breaker *Krassin* saves seven members of the Nobile Polar Expedition.  
Aug. 29 U.S.S.R. accepts the Kellogg Anti-War Pact.  
Oct. 1 Introduction of First Five-Year Plan.

1929

Feb. 9 Kellogg Pact signed in Moscow with Poland, Latvia, Estonia and Rumania.  
May 20 Opening of Fifth All-Union Congress of Soviets.  
,, 27 Chinese police raid Soviet Consulate at Kharbin.  
July 13 Chinese Government seizes Chinese-Eastern Railway.  
Aug. 27 Continuous working week introduced.  
Sept. 7 Establishment of single control in industrial enterprises.

Oct. 3 Protocol on the resumption of diplomatic relations with Britain signed in London.

Dec. 5 Tadzhik reconstituted into a Union Republic.

,, 29 Signing of Protocol with China, terminating the conflict by establishing *status quo ante*.

1930

Jan. 6 Foundation stone laid of first Socialist city at Stalingrad.

,, 12 Radio station installed on Franz Josef's Land.

,, 23 Central Statistical Department transferred to Gosplan.

,, 26 Break in diplomatic relations with Mexico.

Feb. 1 Nizhni-Novgorod Automobile Assembly Factory starts operations.

,, 13 Baku-Batum pipe-line opened.

,, 21 Decision to issue State Loan, "Five-year Plan in Four Years."

April 16 Temporary Trade Agreement with Great Britain signed in London.

,, 18 Trial and sentence of employees of Lena Goldfields Concession.

May 1 Turkestan-Siberian Railway opened.

,, 5 Stalingrad Tractor Works opened.

June 15 Completion of Agricultural Machinery Works in Rostov.

July 2 Agreement signed with Italy concerning extension of economic relations and the granting of credits on Soviet orders.

Aug. 10 Decision to introduce general compulsory primary education.

,, 11 Construction began of largest Soviet tractor works at Chelyabinsk.

Oct. 4 French Government prohibits import of certain Soviet goods.

,, 13 Sino-Soviet Conference on Chinese-Eastern Railway opened in Moscow.

,, 20 Soviet Government adopts economic measures against countries obstructing normal trade relations.

,, 22 Rumania prohibits import of Soviet goods. Belgium restricts imports from U.S.S.R.

Nov. 6 Litvinov attends Preparatory Conference at Geneva.

,, 22 Commissariat for Internal and Foreign Trade reorganised into two separate Commissariats: the People's Commissariat for Supplies and People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

,, 25-Dec. 7 Trial and conviction of eight engineers of the Industrial Party on plot to set up military dictatorship.

Dec. 19 Molotov appointed chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and of the Council of Labour and Defence in place of Rykov.

1931

Jan. 26 "Protection Committee" formed in the United States against alleged dumping of Soviet goods.

,, 30 People's Commissariat of Water Transport established.

Feb. 13 Embargo on Soviet timber placed by U.S.A.

,, 18 Chelyabinsk tractor factory completes first caterpillar tractor.

March 8-17 Sixth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.

,, 16 Turco-Soviet Treaty of Trade and Navigation signed. Attempt on life of Soviet Trade Representative in Tokio.

March 18 Anti-Soviet Agrarian Conference: Vienna.

April 14 Soviet-German credit agreement signed.

“ 18 In reply to embargo on Soviet goods in Canada, Soviet organisations forbidden to purchase Canadian goods or charter Canadian ships.

“ 28 Soviet-Italian credit agreement signed.

June 4 Delegation of Soviet experts arrived in Paris to negotiate *modus vivendi*.

“ 24 Soviet-German Neutrality Pact of 1926 renewed in Moscow. Non-Aggression and Neutrality Pact with Afghanistan signed in Kabul.

Aug. 1 Raid on Soviet Trade Representation by the Argentine police.

“ 2 People's Commissariat for Education decides to open four new Universities: in Irkutsk, Vladivostok, Perm and Nizhni-Novgorod.

Oct. 1 Amo Automobile Works in Moscow completed. Kharkov Tractor Works start operations.

“ 31 Protocol renewing Turco-Soviet Friendship Agreement renewed in Angora.

Nov. 1 Nizhni-Novgorod Automobile Works completed.

Nov. 22 Ban on Soviet goods removed in U.S.A.

“ 27 Soviet-Persian Trade and Navigation Agreement signed in Teheran.

“ 30 Exchange of information concerning armed forces with Great Britain and Germany.

Dec. 4 Exchange of information concerning armed forces with France and Latvia.

“ 22 Meeting of the All-Union Central Executive.

“ 22 Trade Agreement with Germany signed.

1932

Jan. 5 Decree issued concerning organisation of Commissariats of Light Industry and Timber Industry, and the reorganisation of Supreme Economic Council into People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry.

,, 21 Non-Aggression Pact signed with Finland.

,, 25 Non-Aggression Pact concluded with Poland.

Feb. 2-March 18 Session of Disarmament Conference at Geneva. Litvinov proposes complete disarmament.

,, 5 Non-Aggression Pact with Latvia signed.

,, 29 Academy of Sciences decides to open branches in the Urals, Kazakhstan, and the Far East.

March 5 Attack on German Ambassador in Moscow.

,, 20 New York Customs admit error in applying anti-dumping duties to Soviet matches.

April 4-6 Trial of the two attackers of the German Ambassador; sentenced to be shot.

,, 16 White Guards besiege offices of Chinese-Eastern Railway.

,, 22 Conciliation Convention with Finland.

May 4 Non-Aggression Pact with Estonia signed.

,, 7 Opening of first Soviet nickel smelting works in the Urals.

June 3 Decree issued on construction of Moscow-Volga Canal.

,, 16 Conciliation Convention with Estonia.

,, 18 Conciliation Convention with Latvia signed.

,, 25 Leningrad port aerodrome opened.

,, 28 Norwegian Storting votes extra credits for export Norwegian goods to the U.S.S.R.

July 25 Non-Aggression Pact with Poland signed.

Aug. 13 Agreement with Japan signed in Moscow, concerning Far-Eastern Fisheries.  
,, 23 Decree published against speculation.  
Oct. 10 Opening of Dnieper Hydro-Electric Station.  
Nov. 27 Non-Aggression Pact with France.  
Dec. 12 Resumption of diplomatic relations with China.  
,, 27 Introduction of internal passport system.

1933

Jan. 20 Tax in kind replaces quota system on collective farms.  
March 11 Arrest of six Metropolitan-Vickers' employees on charges of bribery and sabotage.  
,, 14 Central Executive Committee proclaims state of emergency.  
April 12-19 Trial of six British engineers in Moscow.  
,, 19 Royal Proclamation prohibiting the importation of certain Soviet goods into Great Britain.  
,, 22 Soviet Government prohibits purchase of British goods, chartering of British steamers, and imposes higher dues on British ships calling at Soviet ports during the operation of British embargo.  
May 5 Ratification of Neutrality Pact with Germany signed June 24, 1931, and Conciliation Convention of 1929.  
,, 6 Two Agreements with Italy signed.  
,, 11 Government decision to sell Chinese Eastern Railway.  
July 27 Relations with Spain resumed.  
Sept. 2 Pact of Friendship with Italy.

Sept. 15 Soviet Government ratifies Convention for the definition of aggression signed in London on July 3, with Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania and Turkey.

Nov. 17 Resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.S.A.

Dec. 4 Trade Agreement with Latvia signed.

1934

Jan. 11 Commercial Treaty with France.

,, 21 Capital of Ukraine transferred from Khar-kov to Kiev. Signing of Soviet-Turkish Protocol providing 8,000,000 dollars credit to Turkey.

Feb. 4 Establishment of diplomatic relations with Hungary.

,, 5 Decree providing special concessions for settlers in Far Eastern Region.

,, 13 Sinking of *Chelyuskin* in the Arctic.

,, 16 Commercial Agreement with Great Britain.

April 4 Protocols signed in Moscow with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia prolonging Non-Aggression Pacts till 1945.

,, 7 Non-Aggression Pact with Finland pro-longed till 1945.

,, 13 Rescue of members of stranded *Chelyuskin* expedition completed.

,, 14 German Government rejects Soviet proposal for agreement on preserving independence and integrity of Baltic States.

May 5 Non-Aggression Pact with Poland pro-longed till 1945.

,, 7 Biro-Bidzhan declared Autonomous Jewish Region.

Feb. 1 Central Committee of the Communist Party decides to alter the electoral law and introduces the secret ballot.

," 6 All-Union Congress elects Committee to draft changes in the Constitution.

," 17 Decree issued allowing members of collective farms to own limited number of cattle, pigs, poultry, etc.

," 18 "Model Statute" published regulating tenure of land, and ownership of collective farm cattle and machinery.

," 25 Invitation conveyed to British Government for its representative to visit Moscow.

," 28 Kaganovich appointed Commissar of Communications.

March 11 Agreement for sale of Chinese-Eastern Railway initialled.

," 22 Confirmation of Agreement *re* Lena Gold-fields.

," 26 Signature of Agreement for sale of Chinese-Eastern Railway.

," 28 Mr. Eden arrives in Moscow.

," 29 Mr. Eden received by Stalin.

April 1 Appreciative articles in the Press on Mr. Eden's visit.

," 2 Representatives of several German steel companies expelled from the Soviet Union.

," 9 Signature of Commercial Agreement with Germany.

," 9 Agreement reached with French Government on mutual assistance.

May 2 Signature of Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance.

," 5 Issue of 3,500 million roubles internal loans.

," 13 Laval arrives in Moscow.

May 14 Stalin receives Laval to study application of the Pact.  
,, 31 Central Committee of the Communist Party decides to disband "Society of Old Bolsheviks."

June 8 M. Benes arrives in Moscow to exchange ratification of Pact of Mutual Assistance and of Trade Agreement signed March 25.  
,, 26 Government decrees to disband "Society of Political Ex-Convicts."

July 1 Protest to Japan regarding incidents on the Amur of June 27.  
,, 12 Exchange of letters regarding re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Belgium.  
,, 13 Trade Agreement with U.S.A. signed.

Aug. 14 Amnesty announced to ex-prisoners, chiefly wreckers, who had joined collective farms.  
,, 27 Trade Treaty with Iran signed.

Sept. 6 Protest to Japanese Government against arrest of Soviet citizens in Manchukuo.  
,, 8 Commercial Agreement with Belgium.  
,, 14 Litvinov's speech at Geneva.  
,, 26 Abolition of card system of rationing.

Oct. 7 Political police department (O.G.P.U.) renamed State Security Department.  
,, 13 Protest to Japan against violation of frontier.  
,, 28 Soviet Government accepts proposals for sanctions against Italy.

Nov. 14 Decree issued abolishing payments in foreign currency. Torgsin to be liquidated as from February 1, 1936.

Dec. 19 Reported incidents by Japanese-Manchukuo troops in Outer Mongolia.  
,, 27 Severance of diplomatic relations by Uruguay.

1936

Jan. 6 New regulations enforced to control movement of all foreigners.

,, 15 Vice-Commissar for Defence announces that Red Army consists of 1,300,000 men. Pay of officers and men was to be raised by 57 per cent. during the year.

,, 23 Litvinov's speech at Geneva *re* dispute with Uruguay.

,, 29 Frontier incidents in Outer Mongolia.

Feb. 1 Decree closing Torgsin shops effective.

,, 9 Completion of double tracking Trans-Siberian line up to Khabarovsk.

,, 17 Trade Agreement with Rumania signed.

March 4 In an interview with U.S.A. Press representative, Stalin said that if Japan attacked Outer Mongolia the U.S.S.R. would come to the latter's assistance.

,, 24 Japanese and Manchukuo proposals *re* frontier settlement.

,, 26 Pact with France ratified by Central Executive Committee.

,, 31 Protest to Japan against detention of two Soviet steamers in Mimaya port.

April 27 Acceptance of Japanese proposal for joint commission to deal with frontier questions.

,, 29 Signature of Agreement with Germany *re* exchange of goods and payments.

,, 30 Statement to Great Britain *re* naval questions.

May 26 National campaign opened by Government aiming at regularising family life and restoring some of the restrictions removed in the first years of the regime. Abortion was to be made a criminal offence, divorce

more difficult and more expensive. Premiums were to be offered for large families.

June 4 Central Committee of the Communist Party end session after deciding to summon All-Union Congress of Soviets to consider draft of new Constitution.

„ 27 Decree issued putting into force the "New Family Life Code."

July 1 Decree issued converting all existing 10 year loans into one 20 year loan, bearing interest of four per cent.

„ 15 Visit of Air Force Mission to Prague.

„ 30 British Export Credit Guarantees up to £10 million granted.

„ 30 Anglo-Soviet Naval Understanding reached.

Aug. 5 French Charge d'Affaires is informed that the U.S.S.R. will accept principle of non-interference in Spain if certain States will stop aiding the rebels against the legal Government.

„ 11 Decree issued lowering the age of conscripts to be called up from 21 to 19. The decree to come into force in 1939.

„ 19 Trial began of Zinoviev, Kamenev and 14 others, charged with leading an underground terrorist revolutionary group. Accused reported to implicate Sokolnikov, Pyatakov, Arkus, Bukharin, Rykov, Radek and Tomsky.

„ 22 Tomsky commits suicide.

„ 23 All accused sentenced to be shot.

„ 24 Soviet adheres to French non-intervention proposals which are to come into effect when Germany, Italy and Portugal had also made it effective.

Aug. 25 Execution of Zinoviev and others.

,, 25 Press reports discovery of numerous groups of wreckers and the arrest of the leaders in all parts of the country.

,, 27 Reported arrest of General Putno for complicity in the Trotzkyist plot.

,, 29 Foreign Commissar presents Note proposing reform of League of Nations to make it more effective.

Sept. 1 Reported call up of the 1914 and half of the 1915 class, together with all men exempted in 1935, by decree of August 11.

,, 13 Resumption of trade relations with Canada.

,, 22 Announced dispatch of a ship of foodstuffs from Odessa in aid of Spanish women and children.

Oct. 6 Reported break up of several State farms and distribution of the land among collective farms.

,, 7 Reported beginning of criminal proceedings against Sokolnikov, Radek, Pyatakov and Serebryakov on charges of complicity in the Trotskyist plot.

,, 12 Agreement reached with Japanese North Sakhalin Oil Concession, extending concession of December 14, 1925, for five years.

,, 13 Note of protest to Japan against violation of frontiers and demanding punishment.

Nov. 10 Discovery of foreign plot to establish Fascist organisation in U.S.S.R. Number of foreigners arrested, including five Germans, Austrians, Poles and Swedes.

,, 25 Extraordinary Congress of Soviets convened as a Constituent Assembly to pass new Constitution.

Nov. 27 Premier of Far-Eastern Region announces completion of Great Northern Railway to the Pacific.

Dec. 1 All-Union Congress adopts draft of new Constitution, and sets up Commission to embody amendments.

,, 5 Constitution adopted with amendments.

,, 11 German Government representation *re* arrest of Germans.

,, 17 Trade Agreement with France signed.

,, 20 Report *re* sinking of steamer *Komsomol* on December 14 by Spanish insurgents.

,, 26 Announced the transfer of an additional 1,500,000 acres of State land to the collective farms of White Russia, bringing up total of such grants to over 12 million acres.

,, 31 Reported arrests of Germans in Leningrad.

### 1937

Jan. 12 Announced seizure of the *Smidovich*, vessel carrying foodstuffs for Spain.

,, 19 Announced that 17 old Bolsheviks, including Radek, Sokolnikov, Pyatakov, Serebryakov and Drobnis were to be placed on trial.

,, 19 Bukharin dismissed as Editor of *Izvestia*.

,, 23 Trial of Sokolnikov and 16 others began. All accused plead guilty.

,, 29 Thirteen of the accused, including Serebryakov, Muralov and Drobnis, sentenced to death. Arnold, Radek and Sokolnikov sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

Feb. 1 Death sentence carried out.

,, 8 Holsti, Finnish Foreign Minister, arrives on official visit in Moscow. First visit since establishment of independent Finland.

Feb. 18 Ordzhonikidze, People's Commissar for Heavy Industry, dies in Moscow.

„ 23 Council of People's Commissars approves decision of Foreign Commissar to forbid departure of Soviet citizens for Spain, the enlistment of volunteers on Soviet territory, their transit through the Soviet Union, and embarkation on Soviet vessels.

„ 25 Announced expulsion of ten Germans arrested in November.

March 5 Central Committee of Communist Party expels Bukharin and Rykov from the Party.

„ 30 Announced that industrial output in 1936 exceeded that of 1935 by 28.4 per cent.

April 27 Announced recall of Minister to Turkey.

May 1 Cossack cavalry takes part for first time in May Day Review in Moscow.

„ 2 Government announces preparation of a Third Five-Year Plan.

„ 3 Civil Aviation Department informs German Lufthansa that it does not intend to renew agreement for Moscow—Berlin air service.

„ 11 Marshal Tukhachevsky, Assistant Commissar of Defence, removed from his office and appointed Commander of the Volga Corps.

„ 28 Government accepts British proposal for a truce in Spain, the withdrawal of all volunteers, provided all foreign troops, including Moors, are withdrawn.

„ 31 Gamarnik, Deputy Commissar for Defence, reported to have committed suicide.

June 3 Eydemir, President of Osoaviakhim, removed from his post.

„ 8 A number of leading generals, including Tukhachevsky, removed from their posts.

June 11 After a secret trial the Military Collegium sentenced to death Marshal Tukhachevsky, Generals Putna, Yakir, Uborevich, Feldman, Kork, Primakov, and Eydeman.

,, 12 Announced that the eight condemned men had been shot.

,, 14 Rosengolz, Commissar for Foreign Trade, dismissed from his post.

,, 15 New privileges announced for collective and individual farmers, including remission of unpaid taxes and reduction in taxation.

,, 30 Reported attack against Soviet gunboats on the Amur river and the sinking of one of them. Protest sent to Japan.

July 1 New Defence Loan, 4,000 million roubles.

,, 4 The two islets on the Amur river evacuated by Soviet forces.

,, 12 Turkish Foreign Minister and Minister of Interior arrive in Moscow.

,, 15 Moscow-Volga Canal opened to regular navigation. Fifty-five thousand convicts who had worked on it released.

,, 19 Publication of text of Naval Agreement with Great Britain.

,, 23 Mikoyan appointed Vice-President of Council of People's Commissars.

,, 26 Announced the arrest of Rosengolz and two deputy Commissars.

Aug. 3 Boldirev appointed Commissar for Health in place of Kaminsky, arrested.

,, 4 *Izvestia* protests against an invitation extended by Finland to a German submarine flotilla to visit Abo.

,, 16 Chubar appointed Commissar of Finance in place of Grinko.

,, 29 Sino-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression signed.

Sept. 6 Note presented to Italy *re* attacks on Soviet shipping in the Mediterranean.

,, 7 Reply to Franco-British invitation to Mediterranean Conference.

,, 8 Detention of Japanese cutter in Soviet waters.

,, 8 Lyubimov, People's Commissar for Light Industry, replaced by Shestakov.

,, 9 Second Note to Italy *re* attacks on shipping.

,, 10 Litvinov's speech at Nyon Non-Intervention in Spain Conference.

,, 12 Stalin and Molotov take the salute at a mass demonstration against "Italian pirates."

,, 15 Krylenko dismissed from post of Commissar for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R.

,, 22 Discovery of serious plot in Karelia. German and Finnish agents implicated.

Oct. 3 Reported transfer of Headquarters of Far Eastern Army from Khabarovsk to Irkutsk.

,, 5 Admiral Orlov removed from supreme command of the Navy and replaced by Admiral Viktorov.

,, 29 Government announces intention to accept invitation to Far Eastern Conference at Brussels.

Nov. 4 Ratification of Soviet-British Naval Agreement.

,, 8 Representations to Italian Government *re* their adhesion to anti-Comintern Pact.

,, 16 Announced acceptance of British plan for non-intervention in Spain.

,, 17 German Government announces decision of closing consulates in Leningrad, Tiflis, Odessa, Kharkov and Vladivostok.

Nov. 27 Agreement reached between International Federation of Trade Unions and Soviet Trade Union Council *re* united front against Fascism.

Dec. 19 Trial and execution for high treason, terrorism and espionage of eight officials, including Karakhan, Yenukidze, Zukerman and Steiger.

,, 21 Extension for one year Fisheries Convention with Japan of 1928.

,, 31 Creation announced of a "Commissariat of the Naval Fighting Forces." Smirnov appointed Naval Commissar.

1938

Jan. 12 First session of Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities opened in the Kremlin.

,, 12 Government informs Great Britain, Estonia, Latvia, Norway, Sweden and Finland that they desire the number of consular posts maintained by each State in the territory of the other to be equal.

,, 15 Joint session of the two Councils adopts amendment to the Constitution giving Presidium power to declare martial law whenever country threatened by external foe.

,, 17 Supreme Council of the Union elects Kalinin as President.

,, 17 Molotov resigns and is asked to form new Government.

Feb. 14 General Loktyonov appointed C.-in-C. of Red Air Force in succession to General Alksnis.

,, 20 Sun-Fo and other members of Chinese Mission leave Moscow after five weeks' stay.

Feb. 27 State Prosecutor announces that 21 prominent men, including Rykov, Bukharin, Rakovsky, Grinko, Krestinsky, Rosengolz, Yagoda, Chernov and Ivanov, were to be tried for treason.

March 2 Trial begins of 21 accused.

,, 13 Eighteen of the accused condemned to death. Pletnyev sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment, Rakovsky to 20 years, and Bessonov to 15 years.

,, 15 Government spokesman announces that Soviet Union would go to the aid of Czechoslovakia if attacked, provided France did likewise.

,, 17 Litvinov hands representatives of the foreign Press statement that the violent seizure of Austria created menace not only to adjacent countries but to all European States, and not to these alone.

,, 18 Government transmits Notes to British, French and U.S.A. Governments, proposing that statesmen of the four countries should meet to see what could be done collectively to prevent further aggression.

,, 30 Reported troop concentration on the Manchukuo frontier.

April 4 Japanese Ambassador protests against giving military aid to China. Litvinov replies that sale of arms to China was in accord with International Law. China and Japan enjoyed equal possibilities of obtaining arms from abroad.

,, 11 Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo protests against violation of Soviet frontiers by Japanese airmen.

May 26 Press publishes declaration that the Soviet Union would fulfil all obligations entered into with France and Czechoslovakia.

June 1 Press reports "Nine Point Agreement" concluded with Dr. Sun-Fo.

," 3 Reported the conclusion of a Five-Year Non-Aggression Pact with China, signed on August 21, 1937.

July 1 Issue of new 5,000 million rouble loan announced.

," 15 Protest by Japan against occupation of hill over Manchukuo frontier.

," 17 *Communiqué* issued in Moscow proving that territory in question is Russian and was ceded to Russia by China in 1869.

," 31 Protest to Japan *re* Manchukuo clash.

Aug. 1 Official account published of hostilities on Manchukuo border.

," 4 Conversations begin between Litvinov and Japanese Ambassador *re* cessation of hostilities.

," 10 Agreement reached in Moscow for cessation of hostilities on Manchukuo border.

," 11 Negotiations over Commission for re-demarcation of Soviet-Manchukuo frontier.

Sept. 5 Litvinov reported to have told German Ambassador: "The Soviet Union has promised to help Czechoslovakia. She will keep her word and do her best."

," 15 Press criticises Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Germany.

," 21 Litvinov attacks League of Nations.

," 23 Soviet protest to Poland against troop concentration on Czech border and desire to occupy Czech territory. Should Poland commit this aggression, the Non-Aggression

Pact signed in November, 1932, will be denounced without warning.

Sept. 23 Litvinov's statement to League *re* Czechoslovakia.

Oct. 11 Soviet Ambassador protests in London against Lord Winterton's statement.

,, 21 Termination of the Pact with Czechoslovakia.

Nov. 6 Molotov accuses Britain and France of weakness in handling the Czech problem.

,, 26 Conclusion of Agreement with Poland.

Dec. 8 Resignation of Commissar for the Interior, Yezhov, announced. Beriya succeeds him.

,, 23 Trade Agreement signed with Poland providing for increased trade, and the regulation of the trade balance on the clearing system.

### 1939

Jan. 4 Announced that new oath would be taken by Red Army, pledging loyalty to the Soviet Government and not to the "workers of the world." The men would swear as "citizens of the Soviet Union" instead of sons of the working class.

,, 7 Permission granted for the reopening of the Polish Catholic church in Moscow.

,, 11 Protest to Prague Government against activity of leader of exiled Cossacks.

,, 15 New Labour Code came into force.

,, 30 Outline of Third Five-Year Plan published, covering period 1938-42.

Feb. 1 Stern protest against Japanese attempt to occupy island in the Argun river.

Feb. 2 Litvinov informs Hungarian Minister of the severance of diplomatic relations with Hungary owing to latter's adherence to anti-Comintern Pact.

,, 2 Central Committee of the Communist Party issues order curtailing the power of the political commissars over officers of the Red Army.

,, 7 Trade Agreement with Italy signed.

,, 8 Further clashes with Japanese troops reported on Argun river.

,, 19 General Trade Agreement with Poland.

March 3 Decision announced to recall representative from the London Non-Intervention Committee, on the grounds "that it had long ago ceased functioning."

,, 10 Eighteenth Party Congress opened in Moscow. Stalin's speech on foreign affairs.

,, 15 Germany presents Note announcing changes in Czechoslovakia.

,, 17 Germany presents second Note informing Soviet Government of the establishment of a Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia.

,, 19 Litvinov presents Note to Germany setting out Government's attitude to the annexation of Czechoslovakia.

,, 21 Official statement announced that British Government inquired of Soviet attitude in case of an unprovoked attack against Rumania. Soviet Government proposed international conference to consider question of German aggression. British Government declined proposal as "premature."

,, 21 Conclusion of Communist Party Congress.

,, 23 Mr. Hudson and members of British Trade Mission arrive in Moscow.

March 26 Results of 1939 Census published.

„ 28 Fisheries Agreement with Japan signed.

April 30 Admiral Kuznetsov appointed Commissar of the Navy.

May 3 Official *communiqué* announces that Litvinov had been released from the office of Foreign Commissar at his own request. His duties were temporarily assumed by M. Molotov, the Premier.

„ 4 Abolition of censorship of Press messages of foreign correspondents which had been in force since 1917.

„ 16 Decree published raising term of service with the Navy from four to five years, and providing that men with secondary and higher education should serve the full period of five years.

„ 25 Opening of session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.

„ 27 Molotov receives British and French Ambassadors who presented memoranda containing identical proposals for mutual assistance by Britain, France and Russia.

„ 29 Molotov discusses with British and French Ambassadors Anglo-French proposals.

June 2 Molotov hands to British and French Ambassadors reply to Anglo-French proposals.

„ 7 *Pravda* states that four demands were made to London and Paris as minimum required for defensive organisation.

„ 14 Mr. Strang arrives in Moscow.

„ 15 Molotov and Potemkin have long discussion with Strang, and the British and French Ambassadors.

June 26 Press announces results of first talks not entirely satisfactory.

,, 21 Molotov has further discussion with British and French Ambassadors, at which Potemkin and Strang are present.

,, 24 Announced the signing of a Trade Treaty with China on June 16, based on principles of equality and reciprocity.

,, 25 Tass Agency announces that clashes in the air have been occurring intermittently for over six weeks over Outer Mongolian territory.

,, 26 Attack by 60 Japanese 'planes reported beaten off by 50 'planes, which brought down 25 for the loss of three.

,, 29 *Pravda* publishes article by Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, Zhdanov, criticising delay in negotiations on the part of Britain and France.

July 1 Molotov receives British and French Ambassadors and Strang.

,, 3 Molotov again receives British and French Ambassadors.

,, 6 Tass announces that Japanese-Manchukuo forces had forced their way into Soviet territory, but were driven out with the loss of 50 tanks.

,, 9 Molotov and Potemkin hold long discussion with British and French Ambassadors.

,, 17 Prolonged discussion between Molotov with British and French Ambassadors. British Embassy issues statement that "there is no fundamental change in the situation."

,, 18 Announced that Foreign Commissariat received Note from the Japanese Ambassador, but it was rejected without being

examined in view of its nature as an ultimatum.

July 22 Foreign Trade Commissariat issues *communiqué* announcing renewal of negotiations with Germany.

„ 24 Commissar of the Navy warns Japan to stop violating Soviet frontiers.

„ 28 Far Eastern Command announces that in three days' fighting (July 23-25) 74 Japanese planes were brought down east of the Halka river.

Aug. 1 The All-Union Agricultural Exhibition opened by Molotov.

„ 5 Renewal of Soviet-American Trade Agreement.

„ 10 British and French Military Missions arrive in Leningrad.

„ 12 Beginning of staff talks between British, French and Soviet Military Missions.

„ 21 Staff talks resumed after a three days' break.

„ 21 Egyptian Government recognises U.S.S.R.

„ 21 Ribbentrop's announcement of a Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact.

„ 22 Tass Agency confirms that Ribbentrop would arrive in Moscow for the conclusion of a Non-Aggression Pact.

„ 24 Non-Aggression Pact with Germany signed.

„ 28 Special session of Supreme Soviet opened.

Sept. 16 Armistice concluded with Japan.

„ 17 Soviet forces cross Polish frontier at several places between Polotsk and Kamenetz-Podolsk. Soviet Government announces desire to protect White Russian and Ukrainian minorities, as the Polish State had ceased to exist.

Sept. 18 Declaration published to the effect that Soviet action was limited to Polish White Russia and Ukraine.

„ 24 Estonian Foreign Minister arrives.

„ 27 Ribbentrop arrives in Moscow.

„ 29 Treaty with Germany partitioning Poland.

„ 29 Pact signed with Estonia.

Oct. 1 Discussions resumed with Turkish Foreign Minister.

„ 2 Latvian Foreign Minister arrives.

„ 3 Lithuanian Foreign Minister arrives.

„ 4 State Organisation for Export proposes to charter Swedish, Danish and Norwegian steamers for carrying timber to Britain and France.

„ 5 Pact of mutual assistance with Latvia.

„ 8 German economic mission arrives.

„ 9 Polish Ambassador and staff leave Moscow for Finland.

„ 11 Trade Agreement with Great Britain.

„ 11 Arrival of Finnish delegation.

„ 14 Two meetings between Stalin, Molotov and Finnish delegation.

„ 16 Discussion with Turkish Foreign Minister.

„ 17 Sarajoglu returns to Turkey.

„ 19 Presidium of Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. ratifies Soviet-German Treaty.

„ 23 Finnish delegation returns to Moscow to resume negotiations.

Nov. 1 Supreme Council incorporates Western Ukraine into the U.S.S.R. in the persons of 65 new deputies elected on October 22.

„ 2 Finnish delegation returns to Moscow.

„ 13 Finnish delegation leaves Moscow.

„ 23 Decision to open trade discussions with Japan announced.

Nov. 26 Announced the killing of four and wounding of nine Red Army men by Finnish artillery firing into Soviet Karelia.

„ 26 Molotov hands Note to Finnish Minister, demanding withdrawal of troops 12 to 15 miles from frontier.

„ 28 Soviet Government denounces Treaty of Non-Aggression signed with Finland in 1932.

„ 30 Troops cross Finnish border in several places. Aerodromes in Helsinki and Viborg bombed.

Dec. 2 Moscow announces conclusion of Treaty of Mutual Assistance with People's Government of Finland. The U.S.S.R. undertook to cede 70,000 square kilometres of Karelia in return for 3,970 square kilometres of the isthmus north-west of Leningrad. Soviet to pay compensation 120 million Finnish marks and to lease for 30 years the Hango peninsula. Soviet to purchase for 300 million Finnish marks Tuersaari, Hogland, Seiskari, Lavansaari and Kojivisto, and parts of Rylachi and Sredni.

#### 1940

Jan. 4 Japanese trade delegation arrives.

„ 8 Trade Agreement concluded with China.

Feb. 9 Office of American-Russian Chamber of Commerce closed in Moscow, and the resident secretary left for the U.S.A.

„ 12 Trade Agreement with Germany signed, providing for exchange of goods to value of 1,000 million marks.

March 9 Men up to the age of 35 called up.

„ 10 M. Ryti arrived in Moscow to open negotiations (about Finland).

„ 12 Announced the signing of Peace Treaty with Finland ceding to Russia the Karelian Isthmus and the shore round Lake Ladoga, and giving her a 30-year lease of Hango. Soviet forces to evacuate Petsamo area. Hostilities to cease at noon on March 13, and troops to be moved to new frontier by 10 a.m. on March 15.

„ 25 Signature of Trade Treaty with Iran.

„ 26 French Government asks for the recall of Soviet Ambassador Suritz because of the contents of his telegram to Stalin. Incident declared closed with his recall.

„ 31 Supreme Soviet decides to incorporate the Karelian Isthmus in the Karelian Republic to form "Karelian-Finnish Soviet Republic."

April 29 The 1939 census figures published showing a population of 170,467,186.

May 1 Commander-in-Chief, speaking at May Day review, said: "The war is spreading and warmongers would try to drag the U.S.S.R. into the maelstrom, and on a suitable occasion will try to attack this or that part of Soviet land."

„ 8 Marshal Voroshilov appointed Assistant Chairman of Council of People's Commissars and Chairman of Committee of Defence. Marshal Timoshenko appointed Defence Commissar.

„ 11 Trade and Navigation Treaty signed with Yugoslavia.

June 4 Government accepted Sir Stafford Cripps as British Ambassador without any extraordinary prerogatives.

„ 5 Government's assent granted to the appointment of M. Labonne as French Ambassador.

„ 10 Agreement reached with Japan re frontiers in the Nomonhan area.

„ 12 Sir Stafford Cripps and the new French Ambassador M. Labonne arrived in Moscow.

„ 14 Ultimatum presented to Lithuania demanding resignation of Government, appointing a new Government enjoying confidence of the U.S.S.R., and to grant free passage of Soviet troops.

„ 15 Occupation of Lithuania by Soviet troops. Agreement with Germany for settlement of frontier incidents.

„ 16 Notes handed to Latvian and Estonian Ministers requiring the immediate change of Government and the free passage of troops to occupy important centres, in order to guarantee the fulfilment of the Pact of Mutual Assistance signed in October, 1939.

„ 16 Acceptance of the demands received from both Governments.

„ 24 Diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia resumed. Both Governments appoint Ambassadors.

„ 26 Note handed to Rumanian Minister demanding the immediate cession to the U.S.S.R. of Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina, giving Rumania till 10 p.m. on June 27 to reply.

„ 26 The All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions decided to reintroduce the 7-day week, with work 6 days out of 7 instead of

5 out of 6 in order to speed up production. The working day to be 8 hours in all State, cooperative and public establishments, and for office employees. Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. agrees to the change.

June 27 Rumania accepts Soviet demands.  
,, 28 Sir Stafford Cripps presents his Letters of Credence to President Kalinin.

July 2 Steamers *Selenga* and *Mayakovsky* return to their home ports, after detention by Allied Naval Forces in the Pacific.  
,, 18 Request to Finland to demilitarize the Aaland Island.  
,, 23 German delegation arrives in Moscow to arrange the evacuation of Germans from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, estimated to number about 100,000.  
,, 27 Protest to London against freezing of balances of Governments of Baltic States.  
,, 28 Trade Agreement with Afghanistan signed.  
,, 29 Iranian delegation arrives in Moscow to discuss questions of railway transport.  
,, 31 Representatives of the Assemblies of the three Baltic States arrived in Moscow for the meeting of the Supreme Soviet. Each delegation was composed of 20 Deputies.

Aug. 2 Supreme Soviet accepts Bill for the formation of Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic.  
,, 3 Supreme Soviet unanimously grants Lithuania's application to enter the U.S.S.R., and 22 Lithuanian delegates took their seats.  
,, 6 Supreme Soviet unanimously grants the appeal of Estonia for incorporation in the U.S.S.R.

Aug. 13 Decree published abolishing the political commissars who had shared control with the Army officers in each military unit.

Sept. 4 Trade Treaty with Hungary signed.

“ 8 Vyshinsky, former State Prosecutor, appointed Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

“ 8 Trade Agreement signed with Sweden.

“ 18 Trade Agreement with Denmark signed.

Oct. 15 German trade delegation in Moscow.

Nov. 10 Molotov left Moscow for Koenigsberg and Berlin to pay a return visit to Ribbentrop.

“ 17 Proposals made by British Government on October 22 announced. 1, *De facto* recognition of the incorporation of the three Baltic States; 2, British pledge not to join any anti-Russian military coalition; 3, undertaking to give Russia voice in the peace conference.

“ 23 Dekanosov, Deputy Foreign Commissar, appointed Ambassador to Germany.

Dec. 6 Trade Agreement signed with Slovakia.

### 1941

Jan. 5 Period of service in the Air Force extended from three to four years.

“ 10 Trade Agreement with Germany signed in Moscow. Also Agreement fixing the frontier in Poland.

“ 10 Russo-German Pact of Friendship signed in Berlin.

“ 13 Barter Agreement concluded with China.

“ 21 Fisheries Agreement with Japan extended.

Feb. 24 Trade Agreement with Switzerland.

“ 28 Trade Agreement signed with Rumania.

March 23 Japanese Foreign Minister arrived in Moscow; received by Molotov and Stalin.

April 5 Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression signed with new Government of Yugoslavia.

,, 8 Matsuoka entertained by U.S.A. Ambassador in Moscow.

,, 13 Pact of Neutrality with Japan signed in Moscow by Matsuoka and Molotov.

May 6 Stalin succeeded Molotov as Chairman of Council of People's Commissars. Molotov retained post of Commissar for Foreign Affairs and became Vice-Chairman of Council of People's Commissars.

June 6 British Ambassador left for London for consultation with Foreign Secretary.

,, 13 Tass Agency denies report that Germany had presented demands to the U.S.S.R.

,, 22 Molotov received German Ambassador at dawn, who informed him that Germany was at war with Russia. Molotov announces over radio that the German challenge had been accepted.

,, 22 General mobilisation proclaimed by Supreme Soviet in 14 military districts.

,, 23 Moscow radio broadcasts long summary of Mr. Churchill's speech.

,, 28 Molotov receives Sir Stafford Cripps, who introduces the members of the British Mission and delivers message to the Russian people from British Government.

,, 30 Committee of State Defence set up, consisting of Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Beria and Malenkov.

July 3 Plans completed for the enrolment of all men between 16 and 60 and women between 18 and 50 in an A.R.P. army.

July 5 Two British A.R.P. experts arrive.

," 5 Maisky met General Sikorsky for the first time at the Foreign Office in London for discussions to end state of war still formally existing with Poland.

," 7 Lozovsky announced in Moscow that a reserve army of millions was being organised, but admitted that mobilisation of the Red Army was not yet completed.

," 8 Soviet Military Mission arrived in London.

," 8 Litvinov broadcast to England.

," 11 State Committee of Defence appointed Marshal Voroshilov C.-in-C. of the Northwest front; Marshal Timoshenko C.-in-C. of the Western front; and Marshal Budyonny C.-in-C. of the South-west front.

," 13 Agreement signed in Moscow by Molotov and British Ambassador. Article (1) stated: "The two Governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany. (2) They further undertake that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement." The Agreement came into force at once and was not subject to ratification.

," 17 Announced that the Soviet was in principle for the independence of Poland.

," 18 Agreement with Czechoslovakia signed.

," 19 Re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

," 20 Decree of Presidium of Supreme Soviet announced that Stalin was appointed

People's Commissar for Defence, and Marshal Timoshenko Assistant Commissar.

July 23 Lozovsky showed Press representatives documents seized from Germans during the fighting, containing instructions for the use of irritant and poisonous gases. They were dated June 11, and marked "Highly secret."

„ 30 Mr. Harry Hopkins arrived in Moscow, with two military observers from the U.S. Embassy in London. He had prolonged discussion with Stalin and Molotov.

„ 30 Signature of Agreement with Poland.

„ 31 Mr. Hopkins informed Press representatives in Moscow that the U.S.A. followed the Soviet Union's defensive struggle with admiration, and would render assistance. He had discussed the quality and type of materials which could be supplied.

Aug. 5 Soviet Information Bureau announced that the Soviet-Yugoslav Pact of Friendship, concluded before the invasion of Yugoslavia, was still valid.

„ 5 Poland appoints Ambassador to Moscow.

„ 5 The Norwegian Foreign Minister and Maisky exchanged letters expressing the desire of their Governments to restore full diplomatic relations.

„ 8 Maisky handed Note to High Commissioner for Eire protesting strongly against detention of five ships.

„ 10 The U.S.S.R. and Great Britain present identical Notes to Turkey.

„ 13 All Polish prisoners of war in Russia granted an amnesty, and all other Poles under detention freed.

Aug. 15 President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill send message to Stalin.

,, 15 Russo-Polish Agreement dealing with formation of a Polish army in Russia signed in Moscow.

,, 16 Stalin thanks Roosevelt and Churchill for the assistance rendered, and welcomes proposal for a Three-Power Conference.

,, 16 Commercial Agreement signed in Moscow, between Britain and U.S.S.R., providing for the exchange of goods on credit and a clearing system. Britain to grant the U.S.S.R. £10,000,000 credit for five years; when this was exhausted the Governments would negotiate for a further amount.

,, 25 Announcement to Iranian Government of move into the country.

Sept. 4 M. Kot, the Polish Ambassador, arrived in Moscow.

,, 8 Supreme Soviet ordered removal to Novosibirsk, Omsk, the Altai Region and Kazakhstan the whole population of the German Republic on the Volga.

,, 11 Russia presents strong Note to Bulgaria.

,, 17 Announcement of advance by U.S.A. of 100 million dollars.

,, 18 State Defence Committee decided that all males between 16 and 50 to receive military training in their spare time.

,, 24 Arrival of the British and U.S.A. Delegations to the Moscow Conference.

,, 26 Announced that the Government had recognised General de Gaulle as leader of all Free Frenchmen.

Sept. 28 Lord Beaverbrook, Mr. Harriman and other members of the British and U.S.A. delegations arrived in Moscow.

„ 30 Military Agreement with Czechoslovakia.

Oct. 1 Joint statement issued by Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Harriman that Russia should be supplied with practically all the civil and military authorities had asked for.

„ 17 The capital is transferred to Kuibyshev.

Nov. 1 Appointment of Marshal Shaposhnikov as Chief of Staff.

„ 2 Request to Britain to declare war on Finland, Rumania and Hungary.

„ 6 Litvinov appointed Ambassador to U.S.A.

„ 7 Addressing Red Army parade in Moscow, Stalin said their reserves of man power were inexhaustible. The German invaders were facing disaster.

„ 11 Litvinov appointed Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

„ 25 Molotov sent Note to all Governments outside the Axis group protesting atrocities committed by Germans against prisoners of war and civilian population.

„ 29 General Sikorsky arrived in Kuibyshev.

Dec. 4 Sikorsky broadcasts message of homage to the Russian people.

„ 28 Announced that in the second half of December discussions took place between Molotov, Stalin and Mr. Eden on the conduct of the war and post-war organisation of peace. On his departure Mr. Eden was accompanied by a Soviet trade union delegation headed by Shvernik.

1942

Jan. 6 Note by Molotov to all countries describing the wholesale destruction, looting, atrocities and mass murders by the Germans.

,, 15 Moscow broadcasts order issued by von Reichenau, on October 10, that "the provision of food to the local population and to prisoners of war is unnecessary humanitarianism."

Feb. 5 Agreement with Canada for exchange of Consular representatives.

,, 14 All men between 16 and 55 and all women between 16 and 45 called up.

March 11 M. Garreau and General Petit arrive in Moscow to form liaison mission.

,, 14 Sir Archibald Clark Kerr arrives in Kuibyshev.

,, 20 Fishing Convention with Japan of 1928 extended, Japanese to pay 20 per cent. increase in rents.

,, 27 Murder of 50,000 Russians and Ukrainians reported in Kiev.

,, 28 Stalin receives new British Ambassador.

,, 28 Sato, new Japanese Ambassador, arrives in Kuibyshev.

April 4 Congress of all Slav peoples opened in Moscow. Called for holy war against German Fascism and for formation of inner front of sabotage and revolt.

,, 7 New U.S.A. Ambassador, Admiral Standley, arrives in Kuibyshev.

,, 27 Note sent to Powers charging German Government with a "premeditated policy of atrocities in Russia."

May 18 Malik appointed Ambassador to Japan in succession to Smetanin.

,, 26 Signature of Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain in London.

June 18 U.S.A. increases credits to Russia from 1,000 to 3,000 million dollars.

,, 23 German losses on Eastern Front in first year estimated at ten millions killed, wounded and prisoners. Russian losses  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

July 10 Diplomatic relations with Netherlands.

,, 31 Trade Agreement with U.S.A. renewed.

Aug. 17 Mr. Churchill and Mr. Harriman in Moscow.

,, 29 Zhukov appointed Defence Commissar.

Sept. 8 Wheat Agreement signed with Canada.

,, 9 Yugoslav, Norwegian and Czech Legations raised to rank of Embassies.

,, 17 Mr. Wendell Willkie arrives in Kuibyshev.

,, 23 Stalin receives Willkie; Molotov present.

,, 26 Maisky awarded Order of Lenin on tenth anniversary as Ambassador to Britain.

,, 29 Agreement with U.S.A. to transfer Texas refinery to U.S.S.R.

Oct. 10 Supreme Soviet establishes single command and abolishes political commissars in the Army.

Nov. 3 Special Commission under Schvernik to investigate German crimes in Russia.

Dec. 9 Agreement with Netherlands for exchange of Ambassadors.

,, 30 Protest to Sweden against raid on Stockholm office of Tass.

1943

Jan. 2 Australian Minister arrives in Kuibyshev.  
,, 26 Stalin receives U.S.A. Ambassador and British Chargé d'Affaires, who present joint Note from President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

Feb. 1 Mr. Politis, Greek Minister to U.S.S.R. arrives in Kuibyshev.  
,, 21 King George VI offers Sword of Honour to Stalingrad.  
,, 27 Stalin receives Polish Ambassador.

March 21 Announced that Germans shot 214 children when they entered Jeisk in Northern Caucasus, October, 1942.  
,, 23 A. Korneichuk Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs.  
,, 25 Fisheries Convention with Japan extended for one year.

April 5 General Martel, head of British Military Mission, arrives in Moscow.  
,, 16 Polish statement *re* discovery of bodies of 8,000 Polish officers near Smolensk.  
,, 26 Moscow severs relations with Polish Government.

May 6 Stalin receives British Ambassador.  
,, 9 Polish Patriots in U.S.S.R. form Polish division to fight beside Red Army.  
,, 10 Call issued to all Slav nations in Europe to fight against Germany.  
,, 20 Stalin receives Mr. Joseph Davies.

June 10 Executive Committee of Third International formally dissolved.  
,, 28 General Ponomarenko states that in two years' guerillas killed about 300,000 Axis troops, including 30 generals.

June 30 Diplomatic relations with Abyssinia.

July 5 Delegation of British, U.S.A. and Canadian surgeons arrived in Moscow.

,, 21 National Committee of "Free Germany" formed.

,, 24 German offensive in Kursk area fails.

,, 28 Maisky appointed Deputy-Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

,, 31 Notes sent to Turkey and Sweden to refuse asylum to war criminals.

Aug. 1 Gusef, Minister to Canada, appointed Ambassador in London.

,, 5 Capture of Orel and Bielgorod.

,, 11 Stalin receives British and U.S.A. Ambassadors.

,, 21 Litvinov relieved of post as Ambassador to U.S.A.; replaced by Gromyko.

,, 27 French Committee of National Liberation recognised.

Sept. 1 First Polish division leaves for the front.

,, 7 Report issued on atrocities committed by Germans in Orel.

,, 9 Metropolitan Sergius elected Patriarch of all Russia.

,, 15 Archbishop of York arrives in Moscow.

,, 20 Union of German Officers formed in Russia.

,, 26 Vyshinsky appointed Soviet representative on the Inter-Allied Mediterranean Commission.

Oct. 9 Mr. Donald Nelson arrives in Moscow.

,, 13 Italy accepted as a co-belligerent.

,, 18 Mr. Eden and Mr. Hull arrive in Moscow

,, 19 Tripartite Conference opened in Moscow.

Oct. 22 Memorandum to British Ambassador states Soviet willingness to resume diplomatic relations with Poland.

Nov. 26 Stalin and Molotov in Teheran.

Dec. 6 Issue of joint declaration by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill.

,, 11 President Benes arrives in Moscow.

,, 12 Treaty of Friendship with Czechoslovakia.

,, 14 Soviet support for Marshal Tito announced. Military Mission sent to Yugoslavia.

,, 16 Opening of trial of three Germans and one Russian began in Kharkov, accused of murdering and torturing local population.

,, 18 The four accused sentenced to death and hanged.

#### 1944

Jan. 3 *Pravda* warns Bulgaria against further collaboration with Germany.

,, 5 *Pravda* reports that a Spanish legion is fighting on the Volkhov front.

,, 8 Reported formation of a Yugoslav legion from prisoners of war in the U.S.S.R.

,, 10 Official reply to Polish statement of January 5.

,, 11 Statement broadcast to German prisoners of war that after the war they will be treated as ordinary workers.

,, 17 *Pravda* publishes report of a meeting in Spain between two leading British personalities and Ribbentrop allegedly on subject of peace.

- 19 Menshikov appointed Soviet representative to U.N.R.R.A.
- 23 Moscow broadcasts appeal to Bulgarian people, on behalf of Pan-Slav Committee, to join the Allies.
- 26 Full report published on murder of Polish prisoners of war by Germans in Katyn.
- 31 Shvernik appointed first Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet.
- 1 Molotov's proposals for reform of foreign representation and army organisation accepted by Supreme Soviet.
- 5 Foreign Commissariat formed in Ukraine. Korneichik appointed first Commissar.
- 23 The 26th anniversary of Red Army celebrated in Moscow. Representatives of Slav nations present.
- 4 Supreme Soviet of R.S.F.S.R. (Russia proper) decides to create Commissariats of Defence and Foreign Affairs.
- 7 Soviet Government informs London that agreement with Poland could be reached if Poles made changes in their Government and accepted Curzon Line frontier.
- 10 *Pravda* publishes statement by captured prisoner of war that he and many other exchanged prisoners of war were sent to fight on the Eastern front.
- 13 Relations with Italy re-established.
- 23 Zarubin appointed Ambassador to Canada.
- 31 Agreement concluded with Japan transferring Japan's oil and coal concessions in North Sakhalin to U.S.S.R. Japanese fishing concession extended for five years.

Dec. 12—Establishment of diplomatic relations with Nicaragua.

,, 14 Announced that a Treaty of Alliance was signed with France on December 10.

,, 25 Treaty of Alliance with France ratified by Supreme Soviet.

,, 26 Closing of the Soviet ring around Budapest.

,, 28 Death of Nikolaeva, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

,, 28 Soviet Government hands over Bulgarian war criminals for trial.